# Daily Report

# Soviet Union

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9 October 1991

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## Soviet Union

*FBIS-SOV-91-196* *9 October 1991*

CONTENTS

**NOTICE TO READERS:** An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

**NOTICE TO READERS:** The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.


**INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

**Arms Control & Disarmament**

More on U.S. Bartholomew Delegation's Visit *[TASS]* ..... 1
General Lobov, Bartholomew Meet *[TASS]* ..... 1
Bartholomew Makes 'Hasty Return Home' *[TASS]* ..... 1
Bovin on Bush Initiative, Gorbachev Reply *[IZVESTIYA 9 Oct]* ..... 2
Pugwash Council Urges End to Nuclear Weapons *[TASS]* ..... 3
Bush Reaction to Response on Arms Cuts Noted *[PRAVDA 8 Oct]* ..... 4
PRC Reaction to Reduction Proposals Cited *[IZVESTIYA 9 Oct]* ..... 4

**Worldwide Issues**

Foreign Ministry's Churkin Gives Briefing *[TASS]* ..... 5
Presidential Aide Grachev Gives Briefing ..... 5
State Council To Meet 11 Oct *[TASS]* ..... 5
Remarks on Disarmament *[TASS]* ..... 5
Foreign Minister Pankin Quizzed on New Role *[PRAVDA 8 Oct]* ..... 6

**United States & Canada**

Gorbachev Meets U.S. Investment Managers *[TASS]* ..... 8
General McPeak Ends Visit to St. Petersburg *[TASS]* ..... 9
Gates' Confirmation 'Problematic Indeed' *[PRAVDA 5 Oct]* ..... 9

**China**

PRC To Develop Japanese, Soviet Ties *[TASS]* ..... 10
Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, Yangtse Agree to Ventures *[Radio Rossii]* ..... 10
Irkutsk Concludes 'Major' Deals With Taiwan *[IZVESTIYA 3 Oct]* ..... 10

**Northeast Asia**

Japanese Aid, Northern Islands Not Related *[TASS]* ..... 10
Progress in Soviet-Japanese Ties Viewed *[Moscow International]* ..... 11
Japan Joins Venture To Build Oil Refinery *[Moscow International]* ..... 11
IZVESTIYA Interviews ROK Ambassador *[4 Oct]* ..... 11
'Nuclear Fog' Leaving Korean Peninsula *[Moscow International]* ..... 12
Direct Flights Open From Far East to Seoul *[Moscow TV]* ..... 13

**Southeast Asia & Pacific**

UN Advance Mission in Cambodia Described *[Moscow International]* ..... 14

**East Europe**

Leaders Urge Croatian Leaders To Cease Fire *[TASS]* ..... 14
Croatia's Tudjman Interviewed on Conflict *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 9 Oct]* ..... 15

### West Europe

Gorbachev Meets Italian Businessmen *[TASS]* ..... 16
Seminar With Germans Views Security Strategy *[TASS]* ..... 16
Bundeswehr's Future Role, Tasks Eyed *[IZVESTIYA 4 Oct]* ..... 17
Soviet Deserters 'Growing' in Germany *[Moscow TV]* ..... 17
France To Help Modernize Nuclear Stations *[IZVESTIYA 4 Oct]* ..... 18

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### Political & Social

Rumors of Gorbachev Shooting Circulate ..... 19
'Vague Rumors' Spread *[TASS]* ..... 19
Further on Rumors *[TASS]* ..... 19
TASS on Rumors ..... 20
Rumors 'Have No Real Grounds' *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 20
Spokesman on Gorbachev's Schedule *[TASS]* ..... 20
Rumors 'Greatly Exaggerated' *[TASS]* ..... 20
Shevardnadze: Another Coup Still Possible *[INTERFAX]* ..... 21
TASS Carries Press Review for 9 Oct ..... 21
Democratic Movement Supports Economic Treaty *[TASS]* ..... 22
Democratic Reforms Movement on Human Rights *[TASS]* ..... 22
Yakovlev Calls For Unity of All Democrats *[TRUD 27 Sep]* ..... 23
PRAVDA Call for Unity of Left-Wing Forces *[3 Oct]* ..... 26
Correspondents' Role as KGB Staffers Denied *[PRAVDA 1 Oct]* ..... 26
New Department To Search for Missing Soviets *[IZVESTIYA 3 Oct]* ..... 26
Primakov Gives News Conference on Intelligence *[TRUD 4 Oct]* ..... 26
Arrests Sought in State of Emergency Case *[Moscow TV]* ..... 28
Fourth in a Series, Secret CPSU Documents *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 8 Oct]* ..... 28
Government Approves Draft Agreement on Food *[INTERFAX]* ..... 30
Sobchak Comments on Tajikistan Trip Results *[TASS]* ..... 31
Entrepreneurship Council Urges Legal Changes *[INTERFAX]* ..... 31
Changes to Constitution Guided by 'Expediency' *[PRAVDA 7 Oct]* ..... 31
Poll Surveys Opinions on Center, CPSU *[INTERFAX]* ..... 33

### Economic

Status of Fuel, Power Sector Assessed *[IZVESTIYA 21 Sep]* ..... 33
Continuing Decline of Consumer Goods Output *[IZVESTIYA 3 Oct]* ..... 34
Assets Dwindling, 'We Are a Bankrupt Country' *[IZVESTIYA 1 Oct]* ..... 34
Bank Official Interviewed on Gold Transfers ..... 36
Swiss Bank Deposits Questioned *[Moscow TV]* ..... 36
More on Gold Shipments *[Radio Rossii]* ..... 36
Official on Ruble, New Republican Currencies *[Radio Rossii]* ..... 37

### Military

Interrepublican Military Consultative Meeting ..... 38
Defense Minister Remarks *[Moscow TV]* ..... 38
Conference 'Behind Closed Doors' *[INTERFAX]* ..... 38
Defense Ministry Commission's Work Described *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 24 Sep]* ..... 38

## BALTIC COUNTRIES

### Estonia

Savisaar Outlines Government Priorities *[Tallinn Radio]* ..... 40
Soviet Troops Begin Withdrawal 8 Oct *[BALTFAX]* ..... 40
Council Rejects Ruutel Heading Talks *[TASS]* ..... 40

### Latvia

People's Front Requests Citizenship Referendum *[Riga Radio]* ..... 40
Interior Troops Start Withdrawal *[Riga Radio]* ..... 41
Committee of Latvia Assess Citizenship Law *[Riga International]* ..... 41

### Lithuania

Landsbergis Fears Deployment of Nuclear Arms *[TASS]* ..... 42
Poles Picket Outside Parliament *[BALTFAX]* ..... 42
Soviet Troops' Withdrawal Issue Reviewed *[Radio Vilnius]* ..... 42
Agreement Drafted *[BALTFAX]* ..... 43
Problems Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 8 Oct]* ..... 44

## RSFSR

### Supreme Soviet

Shakhray Delivers Speech on Presidency *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 45
Vice President: Situation 'Complete Anarchy' *[TASS]* ..... 45
Session Adopts Resolution on Chechen-Ingushetia *[TASS]* ..... 46
Yeltsin Expected To Veto Law on Appointments *[Moscow TV]* ..... 46
Deputy Chairman Saburov Announces Resignation *[TASS]* ..... 47
Parliament To Discuss Draft Economic Treaty *[TASS]* ..... 47
Session Discusses Collaboration of Deputies *[TASS]* ..... 47

### Federation Affairs

Alma-Ata Treaty Causes Administration Struggle *[Moscow TV]* ..... 47
Burbulis Says Yeltsin Back in Moscow 10 Oct *[Radio Rossii]* ..... 48
Deputy Gavrilov Resigns in Letter to Yeltsin *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 48
Kozyrev Urges Realism on Arms Budget *[Russian TV]* ..... 48
Rutskoy Views Proposed Prime Minister Post *[Russian TV]* ..... 49
Russia Insists on Political Union for Republics *[INTERFAX]* ..... 49
Minister Dunayev Interviewed on MVD Tasks *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 5 Oct]* ..... 49
'Democratic Russia' Leaders Criticize Yeltsin *[IZVESTIYA 8 Oct]* ..... 51
KGB Confers With Republics' Security Organs *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 5 Oct]* ..... 54
Yaroshenko on Integration Into World Economy *[TASS]* ..... 54
Academician Outlines Plan for Russia's Recovery *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 8 Oct]* ..... 54
Trade Unions Threaten Protest Work Stoppages *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 55

### Media

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Denies Closure *[5 Oct]* ..... 55

### Local Affairs

Chechen-Ingush Situation Remains Tense ..... 56
Ingushis Oppose Partition *[INTERFAX]* ..... 56
Rutskoy on Disarming 'Gang' *[Radio Rossii]* ..... 56
Events Termed 'Unmanageable' *[IZVESTIYA 9 Oct]* ..... 57
Muslim Congress Ends 6 Oct *[TASS]* ..... 57
Dispute Over Murashev Appointment Surfaces *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 5 Oct]* ..... 58
Moscow Opposition Parties To Form Coalition *[INTERFAX]* ..... 58
Moscow Branch of 'Democratic Russia' To Meet *[INTERFAX]* ..... 58
First Tatarstan Democrats Congress Concludes *[INTERFAX]* ..... 58

### External Affairs

Crimean Tatars Movement Meets on Housing Issues *[Radio Rossii]* ..... 59

### International Affairs

Kozyrev Assesses Relations With Latvia *[INTERFAX]* ..... 59
Russia Tables More Arms Reduction Proposals *[Russian TV]* ..... 59
Dispute Continues With Japan Over Kurils ..... 59
Kurils Citizens Protest Return *[Moscow TV]* ..... 59
Sakhalin Fishermen State Appeal *[TASS]* ..... 60
Kunadze Urges Solution *[TASS]* ..... 60
Referendum Planned for German Region in Omsk *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 61
Samara Allocates Land for German Farmers *[IZVESTIYA 4 Oct]* ..... 61

## WESTERN REPUBLICS

### Ukraine

Kravchuk Assesses French Visit, Independence *[TASS]* ..... 62
Kravchuk Assesses Proposed Food Aid *[INTERFAX]* ..... 62
Military 'Orders' Referendum Disruption *[INTERFAX]* ..... 63
Pre-Election Nomination Campaign Continues *[INTERFAX]* ..... 63
Communists 'Jeopardized' Territorial Integrity *[INTERFAX]* ..... 63
Conference on National Security Held *[Kiev Radio]* ..... 63
National Army Size Planned at 450,000 *[INTERFAX]* ..... 64
Crimean Party Leaders Appeal Against Ban *[Kiev Radio]* ..... 64

### Moldova

Energy Official on Possible Winter Shortages *[Radio Rossii]* ..... 64
Need for Dnestr Compromises Acknowledged *[INTERFAX]* ..... 64
Parliament Approves Election Resolution *[TASS]* ..... 64
Early Elections Held for Bendery Chairman *[TASS]* ..... 65

## CAUCASUS

### Georgia

Gamsakhurdia Suspends Central TV Broadcasts *[INTERFAX]* ..... 66
Gamsakhurdia Supporters Prepare Barricades *[Radio Rossii]* ..... 66
Opposition Protests Continue; Actions Noted ..... 66
Council Meeting; Public Appeal Issued *[Moscow TV]* ..... 66
Protesters March Toward Parliament *[AFP]* ..... 66
Hundreds Rally at University *[TASS]* ..... 67
NDP Leader on Gamsakhurdia Objectives *[TASS]* ..... 67
Gamsakhurdia Urged To Accept Demands *[INTERFAX]* ..... 67
Legislators Ban 60 Communist Deputies *[Moscow TV]* ..... 67
New Clashes Follow South Ossetian Talks *[INTERFAX]* ..... 68

### Armenia

Bagratyan Assesses Economy's 'Deep Crisis' *[TASS]* ..... 68
Economic Views Expanded *[Radio Rossii]* ..... 68
Economic Community Support Noted *[INTERFAX]* ..... 69
Ter-Petrosyan Views Soviet Army's Future *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 5 Oct]* ..... 69
Parliament To Discuss Union Membership *[TASS]* ..... 70
Armed, Armored Azerbaijanis Attack Village *[INTERFAX]* ..... 70
Republics Urged To Recognize Independence *[INTERFAX]* ..... 70

### Azerbaijan

Supreme Soviet Proceedings Reported *[Moscow TV]* ..... 70
Commission Confirms Mutalibov Presidency *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 71
Nakhichevan Supreme Soviet Session Concludes *[Baku Radio]* ..... 71

### Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast

Popular Front Says Agreement Realistic Step *[INTERFAX]* ..... 71
'Disturbing Events' Noted Along Border *[Russian TV]* ..... 71
Situation Still Unstable *[INTERFAX]* ..... 71
Armenian Official Updates Situation *[Russian TV]* ..... 72

## CENTRAL ASIA

### Kazakhstan

Supreme Soviet Chairman on Economic Union *[PRAVDA 4 Oct]* ..... 73

### Kyrgyzstan

U.S. Group To Give $100 Million Credit *[INTERFAX]* ..... 73

### Tajikistan

Sobchak, Velikhov Address Demonstrators *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 5 Oct]* ..... 73
Warns of 'Dramatic Consequences' *[AFP]* ..... 74
Opposition Considers Candidate for Presidency *[INTERFAX]* ..... 74
Parliament Endorses Nabiyev Resignation *[TASS]* ..... 74

### Uzbekistan

Draft Law on Presidential Elections Published *[Tashkent Radio]* ..... 75
Political Program Established, Rules Published *[Tashkent Radio]* ..... 75
St. Petersburg Economic Links Established *[Moscow TV]* ..... 75

## Arms Control & Disarmament

### More on U.S. Bartholomew Delegation's Visit

*LD0810162491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1534 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 8 Oct—U.S. Under Secretary of State Reginald Bartholomew, head of the U.S. delegation on questions of nuclear arms reduction which is in the USSR, has highly appraised the results of the Soviet-U.S. consultations which are being held in Moscow.

In a brief interview for Soviet and foreign journalists today before the start of the talks with Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, he said that "at the moment he cannot speak about more specific reults of the work which has been done before he delivers his report to the U.S. President". However, according to information received by a TASS correspondent at the Russian Foreign Ministry yesterday, the leadership of the republic is examining the possibility of "additional, more radical" reductions in armaments than has already been announced by the USSR president.

Reginald Bartholomew also stressed the need for a positive solution to the question of arms control. At the same time he pointed out certain discrepancies on specific details of the subjects under discussion, noting that they have historic roots.

Regarding a possible timescale for a Soviet-U.S. summit on problems of nuclear arms reduction, the head of the U.S. delegation recommended addressing this question to Washington.

### General Lobov, Bartholomew Meet

*LD0810161691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1452 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 8 Oct—A meeting took place today between Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, and Reginald Bartholomew, U.S. under secretary of state for security assistance, science, and technology.

"We discussed with General Lobov U.S. President George Bush's new initiatives and USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev's counterproposals on a reduction in nuclear armaments", Reginald Bartholomew stated in an interview with a TASS correspondent after the meeting. The U.S. presidential assistant noted that his "meeting was extremely useful and constructive."

According to B. Lobov, certain specific questions on a further reduction in the strategic armaments of the USSR and the United States were also discussed. "The very emergence of these initiatives marks the departure to a qualitatively new level of relations between our countries," he stressed.

### Bartholomew Makes 'Hasty Return Home'

*LD0810232691 Moscow TASS in English 2222 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Andrey Pershin]

[Text] Moscow October 8 TASS—U.S. Under Secretary of State Reginald Bartholomew left for the United States late this evening. He has held consultations on radical reduction of the Soviet and American nuclear potentials.

There are two reasons for hasty return home in diplomatic practice: failure or success of negotiations, about which the leadership should be informed immediately.

Sources at the Soviet Foreign Ministry told TASS that the consultations' results were quite inspiring and both sides are satisfied.

Bartholomew arrived in Moscow with cardinal proposals of President Bush on the reduction of nuclear potentials. By the beginning of consultations with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksey Obukhov, a package of response initiatives by Soviet President Gorbachev has been made public.

Many observers believe that Soviet initiates go further than those of Bush in some specific spheres.

The two packages of counter measures made the groundwork of the Soviet-U.S. consultations. The third element of the disarmament process has become a bloc of initiatives of the Russian Foreign Ministry, presented today during a conversation between Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Bartholomew.

This package is even more radical than Gorbachev's proposals. As it is known, the major part of the Soviet nuclear potential is located on Russian territory. That is why the voice of the sovereign republic has a special value.

In addition, the U.S. guest had an opportunity to exchange opinions with Soviet ministers of foreign affairs and defence. It is clear that Bartholomew will return to Washington with a larger baggage of nuclear disarmament proposals than he had when arriving in Moscow.

It is no doubt that a powerful and mounting impetus has been given to the nuclear disarmament process.

Few details about the consultations are known. However, one can suppose that Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin will dwell on them at tomorrow's briefing. Now Aleksey Obukhov and Reginald Bartholomew made general remarks about mutual satisfaction with the results.

Judging by the information obtained from diplomatic sources, during this round of consultations on nuclear

disarmament the sides mainly acquainted themselves with each other's initiatives and specified the initial stands.

The major work on the transition of the proposals in the sphere of specific and clearly formulated mutual agreements is still to be done. It is expected that this process will be continued in the nearest future through diplomatic channels.

### Bovin on Bush Initiative, Gorbachev Reply

*PM0910110091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Oct 91 Union Edition p 5*

[Aleksandr Bovin article under the "Political Observer's Opinion" rubric: "Challenge Taken Up: Gorbachev Answers Bush"]

[Text] It seems that both we and the Americans have underestimated George Bush. His proposals on tactical and strategic nuclear arms reductions surpassed all expectations. And they caused—without identifying the sources of each reaction—euphoria, confusion, and skepticism.

In the long years of confrontation we grew accustomed to thinking that each disarmament initiative from their White House was ultimately aimed at weakening the Soviet Union's position and strengthening U.S. security. Like "CIA intrigues," but on a different scale and in a different form. Now that the former "adversaries" have turned into partners, that approach is obsolete, in principle. Although sometimes it is hard to avoid the temptation...

But still. Why has the present administration set about nuclear disarmament so zealously?

First, let us listen to Bush himself. "The changes that allowed us to adjust our security strategy a year ago," Bush stated 27 September, "have greatly accelerated. The prospect of a Soviet invasion into Western Europe, launched with little or no warning, is no longer a realistic threat... New leaders in the Kremlin and the republics are now questioning the need for their huge nuclear arsenal. The Soviet nuclear stockpile now seems less an instrument of national security, and more of a burden. As a result, we now have an unparalleled opportunity to change the nuclear posture of both the United States and the Soviet Union.

"If we and the Soviet leaders take the right steps—some on our own, some on their own, some together—we can dramatically shrink the arsenal of the world's nuclear weapons. We can rely more on defensive measures in our strategic relationship. We can enhance stability, and actually reduce the risk of nuclear war. Now is the time," the President said, "to seize this opportunity."

A few clarifications by way of commentary.

First. The Americans, by all appearances, genuinely believe that a new world order is possible. That the threat of war could be drastically reduced. And that in order to preserve such an order it is necessary only to maintain the nonproliferation regime, with the states belonging to the "nuclear club" having minimal deterrent forces. Given this approach, any nuclear weapons "surplus" would be regarded as destabilizing and be subject to elimination.

Second. Events in the Soviet Union are threatening by virtue of the frightening uncertainty as regards control of strategic and particularly tactical nuclear weapons. It is therefore better beforehand, while the "familiar" central structures still exist, to bind the Soviet Union and its possible successors by new commitments, and to encourage them to eliminate thousands of items of tactical nuclear weaponry which could escape from control in the course of local conflicts and civil "mini-wars."

Third. The abolition of the Warsaw Pact, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Eastern Europe, and the formation of a wide corridor between the USSR and NATO destroys the military purpose of nuclear artillery shells and short-range missiles—they simply will not reach the enemy. Therefore, Washington's initiative—to tumultuous applause from Bonn—was supported by Paris and London.

Incidentally, in view of the destabilizing role of any theater nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union has long been proposing the "third zero," that is, the elimination of all forms of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. We also proposed their removal from naval ships. The Americans have virtually adopted the same stance. They propose that tactical nuclear weapons be retained solely on Air Force planes.

For reference: According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, U.S. nonstrategic nuclear forces number 7,922 delivery vehicles and 7,147 weapons [boyezaryady]. The USSR's analogous forces consist of 13,759 delivery vehicles and 11,305 weapons. Thus each country has created a mighty infrastructure for "limited nuclear war." The Americans did so openly. We, as was often the case, did one thing but said another, and sought to persuade everyone that such a war was impossible.

If the American proposal is accepted, they will be left with 1,300 aircraft and 1,800 bombs, while we will have 2,560 aircraft and 3,100 bombs. No bad thing...

Fourth. G. Bush's initiative is also associated with the political struggle inside the United States and the preparations for the next presidential elections. The fact is that the Democrats intend to seek deep cuts in military spending. With his proposals the President is, so to speak, moving toward the Democrats, testifying to his peaceability, and at the same time preparing the ground for defending spending primarily on projects like the B-2 heavy bomber ($3.2 billion) and SDI ($5.2 billion). As for the Pentagon, apparently it will—whoever holds

sway in the White House—maintain its course of gradually getting rid of "old" nuclear stuff and replacing it with "smart" nonnuclear weapons based on the most advanced technologies.

The U.S. President's initiative is interesting not only by virtue of its content, but also because of the new approach to disarmament. George Bush, M. Gordon writes in THE NEW YORK TIMES, has "thrown out of the window all the traditional ideas about control over disarmament." An exaggeration, maybe. But an understandable one. Instead of prolonged, cautious soundings, endless disputes over words, and miserly shifts in position, G. Bush is formulating radical starting positions at a stroke and—taking the other side's interests into account—immediately making a final solution accessible.

Incidentally, independent Soviet experts were talking about the desirability of this approach some time ago. But a prophet in his own country... Carter was the first to approach the new method of talks. At the time, Moscow took fright. And do you remember Reykjavik? There, Gorbachev frightened Reagan. Now times have changed, and Bush did not frighten Gorbachev.

Regarding tactical nuclear weapons, the USSR president not only accepted all the U.S. President's proposals, but went further. Moscow proposes that no exceptions be made, that is, that all weapons of this kind be eliminated and removed. The total third "zero."

Regarding strategic arms, Gorbachev is generally in solidarity with Bush, and proposed, for his part, a number of new initiatives "outstripping" Bush.

It is noteworthy that M. Gorbachev's Statement bypasses in silence G. Bush's proposal to eliminate all land-based ICBM's with multiple reentry vehicles (MRV's).

This is a sensitive issue. In principle it is not possible, in my view, to dispute the thesis that—given the absence of ABM defense—the switch to single-warhead missiles will strengthen general strategic stability. But in this specific instance it is necessary to consider the matter not only in principle, but in the light of the differing structures of the Soviet and U.S. missile potentials.

We have put the emphasis on the development of land-based ICBM's. The Americans put submarine-launched ballistic missiles first. Therefore, if G. Bush's proposal is accepted, we lose a far greater number of weapons. This approach can hardly be considered right. The Americans know that, but they continue to act disingenuous.

It must also be taken into account that the Americans are still working on SDI. And unless a mutually acceptable compromise is found, in order to maintain a convincing level of deterrence, we cannot renounce ICBM's with multiple warheads.

The fundamental question is as follows. Can we, in the context of deepening cooperation with the Americans, accept structural changes in our strategic triad? So that the most destabilizing components would be removed, and the proportional share of single-warhead missiles, strategic aviation, and defensive systems would be increased? From the military-strategic viewpoint, this appears expedient. But there is also another viewpoint, more important today—the economic viewpoint. Not only is disarmament costly, but then you have rearmament too...

Of course, not all questions can be resolved at the highest level. The "negotiators" also have plenty to do. They should, I believe, present the political leadership with the conceptual basis for disarmament. What forms of strategic arms, in what quantities, do the USSR and the United States need in order to guarantee reliable deterrence at the minimum level? The answer to this general question will make it possible to answer questions of detail more rapidly and accurately.

## Pugwash Council Urges End to Nuclear Weapons

*LD0810140891 Moscow TASS in English 1353 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Text] Moscow October 8 TASS—The time has come to begin the elimination of all tactical nuclear weapons, says the Pugwash Council's message to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and the leaders of the other nuclear powers.

The council met in Beijing on September 17-22 on the occasion of the 41st Pugwash Conference on science and world problems.

The message that was made available to TASS on Tuesday emphasises that the danger connected with the stockpiles of tactical nuclear weapons and their stationing "calls for immediate action".

A memorandum attached to the message sets out a plan for specific measures that could be taken to eliminate nuclear systems that do not fall under the provisions of the strategic arms reduction treaty.

Scientists suggest that countries possessing tactical nuclear arms announce types, models, the number and locations of weapons subject to destruction within one month of making a pledge to eliminate them.

Participants in the Pugwash Council meeting believe that countries should prepare special storages to keep tactical nuclear weapons and ensure the guarding of the weapons under international supervision against a possible attack or stealing.

All tactical nuclear weapons should be stowed in supervised storages, the memorandum states.

At the weapons elimination stage that will continue for several years, it is planned to scrap delivery vehicles and electronic equipment, to burn explosives and re-process

fissionable substances under the supervision of the International Atomic Energy Agency into fuel for civilian nuclear reactors.

The memorandum admits the right of countries to suspend unilateral actions in declaring and storing tactical nuclear weapons if the other main possessor of nuclear weapons does not take similar measures within a designated time-frame.

The members of the Pugwash Council believe that such measures will make it possible not only to place nuclear weapons under a reliable control, ruling out the possibility of an unsanctioned use of the weapons, but also to begin to eliminate nuclear systems in earnest.

## Bush Reaction to Response on Arms Cuts Noted

*PM0810153791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Oct 91 Single Edition p 4*

[Correspondent V. Gan report: "USSR-United States: Price of Disarmament. Hopes Justified"]

[Excerpts] Washington—Even before the helicopter carrying U.S. President G. Bush from his out-of-town residence at Camp David touched down on the White House South Lawn, U.S. reaction to M.S. Gorbachev's statement on the problem of nuclear arms was known. People here reacted at least with enthusiasm to what he said. [passage omitted]

Bush had to drown out the helicopter's roar in order to answer our questions after we had spent several hours in an agony of suspense in the White House's uncomfortable press room.

[PRAVDA] What is your reaction to Gorbachev's speech?

[Bush] Very positive. I think that world reaction is also very positive. There are some areas and questions that I would like to discuss. We now have a very good team in Moscow. I listened to the entire speech. I spoke to him (Gorbachev—V.G.) before he made the statement and I think that this all represents good news for the entire world. I think we have come a tremendous way. And I also think that this has not been in vain. It is after all a question of nuclear arms. Many people in this world are grateful, in my opinion, to the Soviet leadership for its approach. [Bush ends]

The President said that he has something to discuss with the Soviet leadership and that he has no intention of commenting on each and every aspect of Gorbachev's program. "As I have already said, we have a great deal of work ahead of us and we must discuss a great deal before coming to the table for the next summit meeting," Bush said. However, he did not rule out the likelihood of a meeting, reiterating that the U.S. side "is very satisfied with the Soviet response." "I felt that they would respond positively," the President added. According to him, the administration has gotten "enough food for thought"—and positive food at that.

## PRC Reaction to Reduction Proposals Cited

*PM0910114291 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Oct 91 Union Edition p 5*

[Correspondent Yu. Savenkov report: "China Welcomes It, But..."]

[Text] Beijing—The Chinese newspapers are reporting M.S. Gorbachev's initiative on nuclear arms reduction with restraint, as if they are keeping their distance. What would Beijing itself say? There was a long silence. After two days had elapsed, foreign correspondents started impatiently calling the Foreign Ministry (I was among them). A polite voice replied: Wait for the response.

Soon, the XINHUA agency teletype carried a statement from an unidentified Foreign Ministry staffer repeating word for word the Chinese reaction to G. Bush's initiative. China welcomes the Gorbachev plan, but continues to believe that the United States and the USSR, which have huge nuclear arsenals, bear special responsibility in the nuclear disarmament sphere.

In Beijing diplomatic circles, this response to Bush was dubbed a "polite gesture." One diplomat told me: "Beijing had an opportunity to take a real step in the same direction, but preferred to remain within its traditional framework." The logic of Beijing's reasoning apparently goes like this: Take no notice of us; we are a developing country, we account for too small a share; the supreme responsibility rests with the United States and the USSR, so let them make the cuts; we can only support this. Why was the text of the response to the two presidents identical? Diplomats in Beijing believe that, first, Beijing thereby emphasizes its equidistance from the two countries, and, second, it shows once again that it is not prepared to participate in the nuclear disarmament process.

Western experts believe that China manufactures shorter-, intermediate-, and longer-range missiles. They are capable of carrying nuclear warheads, but, on announcing Beijing's decision in principle to adhere to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons (China was the last of the great powers), a Foreign Ministry spokesman again stressed that in China the quantity of nuclear weapons is small and is exclusively for self-defense purposes.

In any case, many observers are concerned: Despite the reductions in weapons of mass destruction announced by the two presidents, there are still plenty of them in the arsenals of many countries, and they could in future spread to other countries too. Not only the United States and the USSR should participate in the disarmament process.

## Worldwide Issues

### Foreign Ministry's Churkin Gives Briefing

*LD0810202591 Moscow TASS in English 1958 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow October 8 TASS—The Soviet Union and the Republic of Lithuania, as well as the Soviet Union and the Republic of Estonia, will exchange notes on the establishment of diplomatic relations on October 9 in Moscow, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate Vitaliy Churkin told a briefing here today.

The ceremony will be done by foreign ministers of the three states.

The establishment of diplomatic relations is an important step to create a favourable background for future inter-state negotiations, Churkin said.

The exchange of notes is soon expected with Latvia.

Churkin informed correspondents on the second seminar on military doctrines that opened in Vienna today within the framework of the conflict prevention centre.

Bronislav Omelichev, head of the Soviet delegation and first deputy head of the Soviet Armed Forces' General Headquarters, will address the seminar.

Head of the Soviet Armed Forces' General Headquarters Vladimir Lobov will stay in Vienna between October 12 and 13 to meet U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Colin Powell and West Germany Armed Forces' General Inspector Klaus Naumann.

Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama will arrive in the Soviet Union on October 12 on a working visit. The visit program includes negotiations with Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin and his Russian counterpart Andrey Kozyrev. Meetings with the Soviet and Russian presidents have also been scheduled.

Pankin and Nakayama will continue negotiations on the conclusion of a peace treaty between the Soviet Union and Japan.

The Japanese minister will visit Saint Petersburg.

In the opinion of Churkin, the 2.5 billion U.S. dollars worth of Japanese aid to the Soviet Union will create a favourable background for the future negotiations with Nakayama.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry's spokesman praised the initiative of the U.N. secretary-general on the organisation of a meeting between the warring Afghan sides. In the opinion of the Soviet Union, "such meeting would enable a progress in the political settlement and would become a starting point in the establishment of the inter-Afghan dialogue."

Touching upon the situation in Yugoslavia, Churkin noted that the missile attack on the residence of the Croatian president Franjo Tudjman and continuing clashes throughout Croatia provoke growing concern of the Soviet Union.

He recalled that the Soviet Union consistently calls for the termination of bloodshed in Yugoslavia and for the solution of all the problems by peaceful and democratic means.

In this connection, Churkin welcomes the statement of the Yugoslavian Army's command on the cessation of fire on midnight, October 8.

### Presidential Aide Grachev Gives Briefing

#### State Council To Meet 11 Oct

*LD0810164191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1429 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Krolikov and Sergey Nikishev]

[Text] Moscow, 8 Oct (TASS)—The next sitting of the USSR State Council will take place on 11 October. This was reported today at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists by Andrey Grachev, aide to the USSR president and head of the presidential press service. Issues of concluding the Union Treaty and the setting up of the economic community in the Soviet Union will be examined at the sitting. Prospects for an agreement between the republics on food will also be discussed. At this State Council sitting, Andrey Grachev said, principled reorganizations in the Union Committee of State Security will be discussed for the first time.

#### Remarks on Disarmament

*LD0810204591 Moscow TASS in English 1945 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Krolikov and Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow October 8 TASS—Today's briefing at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Press Centre focused on the U.S. President's initiative in the field of nuclear arms reduction and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's response to it.

The Soviet presidential spokesman Andrey Grachev, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksey Obukhov and Deputy Chief of the Treaty-and- Legal Department of the General Headquarters of the Soviet Armed Forces Vladimir Kuklev took part in the briefing.

They stressed the positive character of the steps made by the Soviet and American presidents and their importance for progress of the nuclear disarmament process.

As a result of the statements made by George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev, Obukhov noted, the road has

opened towards the realization in practice of the unilateral but in actual fact parallel steps of the United States and the Soviet Union in the field of reduction of tactical nuclear weapons.

The unilateral cuts, he said, will accelerate the movement towards actual nuclear disarmament. This, Obukhov said, shows a new quality of international relations. He expressed hope that the process of negotiations on disarmament problems would move faster.

As regards the Soviet unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing, Obukhov pointed out that "the purpose of this step is to encourage other nuclear powers, including the United States, to once again consider the need to end dangerous nuclear experiments.

The Soviet Union, he said, hopes that the United States and other nuclear powers will follow our example".

Andrey Grachev told the briefing that the Soviet president had received no guarantees from George Bush that the United States would follow the Soviet moratorium example.

On the Soviet leadership's stance towards the unity of Yugoslavia and the possibility of the Soviet Union recognizing Slovenia, Grachev said that the future of Yugoslavia and the status of its republics are above all a matter of concern for the people of that country.

Andrey Grachev, who was earlier deputy chief of the International Department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, was asked about the alleged Soviet Communist Party's financial assistance to communist parties in other countries.

Grachev said he had no knowledge of any pumping abroad of many-million sums disguised as aid or cooperation with commercial organisations of communist parties in other countries.

### Foreign Minister Pankin Quizzed on New Role

*PM0810144791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Oct 91 Single Edition p 5*

[Report of interview in Prague with Foreign Minister B. Pankin by PRAVDA correspondent A. Krushinskiy under the "Close-Up" rubric; date not given; first four paragraphs are introduction: "Minister Pankin's 'White Steamship'"]

[Text] Life and politics—domestic and foreign—are changing before our eyes. That is the sort of times we are living in. Full of attention and hope people are looking and listening to the new wave of political leaders elevated by the stormy events in our present history.

Who are they and where have they come from? What are their thoughts and goals? Can we pin on them our hopes for tranquillity and prosperity for every family and for the country as a whole?

In its series of articles under the "Close-Up" rubric the editorial office intends to meet readers' demand for objective information about those people who are in control of the state and its domestic and foreign policy today.

Here you have the principal elements of a portrait of USSR Foreign Minister Boris Dmitriyevich Pankin and his answers to a number of our correspondent's questions.

[Krushinskiy] Boris Dmitriyevich! Could you tell us please whether your former experience as a journalist and literary critic has come in useful for you when performing your present functions as USSR foreign minister?

[Pankin] It has. [Pankin ends]

...This extremely laconic answer was predetermined by the unusual atmosphere of this interview. My IZVESTIYA colleague Aleksandr Bovin, who spoke to Pankin a week ago, complained: "I asked for two hours and got one." I got a matter of minutes. And not in his quiet office, but in a jam-packed room in the Soviet Embassy in Prague, at the height of a diplomatic reception when the minister had to simultaneously greet one person and take his leave of another. But, in my opinion, he said just as much, for which there are reasons.

By coincidence the minister has known the author of this article for almost 30 years—through working on KOMSOMOLKA [affectionate name for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA]. KOMSOMOLKA's unequal fight against Solyanik, general director of the "Slava" whaling flotilla and his incalculable horde—ranging from the Odessa party obkom [oblast party committee] to Politburo members—while Pankin was chief editor counts for a lot. And what about his articles of literary criticism on Trifonov, Abramov, and Aytmatov, which every time were an event not only in Moscow's literary life, but also in its sociopolitical life!

When Pankin for the first time in his life suddenly acquired the rank of Union minister and became chairman of the All-Union Copyright Agency (which he had to set up), many of us saw this promotion as a latent form of disfavor, as an attempt by our then rulers to bar the unruly editor from journalism at any price.

I think that the reader now realizes why in our specific dialogue these two short words sounded like an exhaustive answer.

[Krushinskiy] People use the formula "politics is a dirty business." What, in your view, are the origins of this? What is needed to eliminate it? Which recent international events could be seen as combining politics, morality, and ethics?

[Pankin] I think that politics is becoming cleaner and cleaner. The world is generally beginning to take pan-human values more and more seriously. Present-day politics also, strictly speaking, is bringing these values to fruition.

[Krushinskiy] Why then did this expression arise? Is there all the same something dirty about politics?

[Pankin] Well, it's a long story. War, for instance, was always seen as a normal means of securing political ends. But now it only takes a smallish conflict to flare up somewhere for the whole world to immediately take fright. Some steps are finally being taken. That's certainly in order. Remember how we were all put on our guard when the UN inspectors were detained in Iraq. [Pankin ends]

...Rummaging around the library, I found a book that Pankin had written during his time as chairman of the All-Union Copyright Agency. It contains some lines where he seems to unburden himself as to how stunned and confused he felt on the threshold of the large gray building on PRAVDA Street when he was bidding KOMSOMOLKA farewell. "Behind you were 21 years of working in a speciality that you had chosen of your own free will and grown to love. What can be nicer than to feel you are a specialist!"

It can now be said that during his years spent at the All-Union Copyright Agency Pankin also became a specialist on problems of copyright protection and in international exchange of "cultural output." Suddenly there came a third drastic turning point when, like it or not, you have to start a "new life" again and by no means through choice, moreover...

[Krushinskiy] How would you describe your first UN General Assembly in your new function? How did your partners from other countries take your debut?

[Pankin] Well, suffice it to say that I spoke to roughly 50 of my foreign minister colleagues in New York. The conversations were useful. I don't think that my interlocutors thought very much about my being a new boy or not.

[Krushinskiy] You were treated well?

[Pankin] I think so. I was probably helped by the fact that I had met with many of my partners in Moscow previously. They appreciated the fact that the Conference on the Human Dimension of the European Process had nevertheless gone ahead—previously many people had thought that this was futile given the prevailing situation in the USSR. The, so to speak, stirring story of my emergence as a minister also may have helped. [Pankin ends]

...I would very much not like the reader to suspect the author of these lines of having enjoyed any special, privileged living conditions when I came to Czechoslovakia as PRAVDA's own correspondent owing to the fact I had worked with the ambassador for the same newspaper at one time. On the contrary, it was precisely because of our long-standing acquaintance that the ambassador was, I thought, particularly exacting toward my articles. And our opinions on some specific facts were sometimes at variance.

I remember the shock that all of us working here—diplomats and journalists—had on the morning of 19 August. A day later RUDE PRAVDA asked Soviet correspondents questions about the putsch. Typically, in the opinion of a diplomat who later reviewed the Czechoslovak press, our answers voiced "nuanced condemnation of the State Committee for the State of Emergency adventure." But journalists are not very accountable. So, the ambassador himself condemned the authorities who had ensconced themselves in the Kremlin! On the night of 21 August (and these were sleepless nights) I switched on Prague Radio and heard the following: Ambassador Pankin and Minister-Counselor Lebedev have resolutely dissociated themselves from Yenayev and the other organizers of the coup. Was this surprising? Perhaps, for a moment. But I immediately thought: This is logical, this stems from his work with KOMSOMOLKA in the sixties, from his articles on Trifonov, and from his review of Aytmatov's "White Steamship." From the ideals that developed way back and did not wither during the succeeding years. As you can see the "stirring story" has its own clearly-defined logic.

[Krushinskiy] Boris Dmitriyevich, do you think that the recriminations that have crept into some newspapers saying that our country did not react promptly enough to President Bush's nuclear disarmament initiative are fair?

[Pankin] No, I don't. What is "promptly"? I voiced a highly positive opinion of this a couple of hours later in New York.

[Krushinskiy] Without instructions from Moscow?

[Pankin] Of course, without instructions. I give the instructions myself now... I can tell you one secret. During a conversation with Bush, who warned our president almost a day before of his intentions, Gorbachev said that he wanted to respond half an hour later during "Vremya." However, Bush said that he intended to speak at 1800 hours so that all America would hear about it—this was 0400 hours for us... Incidentally, Baker also warned me in advance. We have had three rounds of talks with him and I kept the pressure on him: I said, we have to start talks on tactical nuclear weapons and try to get a "third zero." Suddenly he shot a wily glance at me... "Let's meet tomorrow face-to-face," he suggested. "Fine," I said, "will there be time?" "I'll try." We had a half-hour meeting and he showed me the document: "Why have long talks," he said, "when we can settle matters unilaterally." I think that steps in response will follow.

[Krushinskiy] In your view, how will the diplomatic history textbooks of the future regard the new Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty?

[Pankin] I think that they will see it as sensible, timely, and fair. As regards the past, present, and, I hope, the future.

[Krushinskiy] How much are Soviet diplomatic services to be transformed? Don't you expect there to be complications in your work in connection with the transfer of many Union Foreign Ministry functions to the sovereign republics?

[Pankin] There aren't any dramatic changes. Powers and responsibilities are being redistributed in a natural way. The first session of the Foreign Ministers Council that I moderated showed that we take a quite reasonable view of these matters. The republics' ministers are satisfied that this wasn't a "cosmetic" meeting with a view to clapping one another on the back and saying "Come on guys, let's work together harmoniously" and then going away and forgetting about it. They felt that we take this seriously. It is certainly logical to have them shoulder a whole set of functions. Because there are plenty of regional problems. Take Afghanistan—how can we develop relations with it without taking into consideration the opinion of Tajikistan, which borders on it.

[Krushinskiy] Aren't you worried by the decentralization now taking place?

[Pankin] Of course, there is some concern. But it is not fatal, panic-stricken concern, but simply businesslike concern. If there's a problem, it must be resolved. Here's a model: the State Council. I have attended all its sessions. In effect, we are also doing the same thing on the Foreign Ministers Council. And at the Moscow Soviet, for instance: There is a general meeting of deputies and an ispolkom [executive committee] exists. The Foreign Minsters Council is like a legislative body, which I chair, while the Foreign Ministry Collegium is a kind of ispolkom which formulates the main direction of policy. Not forgetting that the fundamental principles of our foreign policy are decided at presidential and State Council level. [Pankin ends]

...There is another part of that book by Pankin where he kind of unburdens himself. "Few people guess that an editor's work has its pleasurable side. People are often burdened by this work and this post or, at any rate, they say that they are. At this time I was thinking about the pleasurable side and about the feelings of a person who gets up every morning, day in day out, month in month out, year in year out, with the awareness that at this time, this hour and minute, millions of people in the country and abroad are picking up and unfolding a newspaper—the fruit of your labor, passion, and nocturnal vigil of yesterday (was it only yesterday?), the result of the work of a collective guided by your will, your experience, knowledge, and conscience..."

Having retraced the thread of this ad hoc interview and pondered the words by Pankin the essayist that I have just cited, I thought: The "chief editor" of Soviet diplomacy has the will, the experience, the knowledge, and the outstanding organizational skills. In my view, the most important thing is that he is a so-called "man of the sixties." Their dream about the "White Steamship" is not something half-baked arising out of emotion or careerist considerations. It has been won through suffering and has a firm moral foundation.

[Krushinskiy] Boris Dmitriyevich, how can diplomacy help stabilize our domestic situation and get us out of the grave crisis?

[Pankin] The economic aspect of diplomacy is now taking center stage. We urgently need economic aid from other states. It is not a question of any handouts. The situation is like that in a village, say, where someone's home burns down or someone simply wants to build a house and their fellow villagers all pitch in to help. [Pankin ends]

Regrettably, the interview ended there. I had more questions, but several ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary had already formed a semicircle alongside us in impatient expectation. The minister had to return to his immediate duties as host of the farewell Prague reception.

## United States & Canada

### Gorbachev Meets U.S. Investment Managers

*LD0810152891 Moscow TASS in English*
*1416 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Text] Moscow October 8 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev today met representatives of American investment management firms and banks which sponsored the Soviet-American conference "Public pension funds-nineties [no closing quotation marks as received], presently under way in Moscow.

The group includes Olympia and York President A. Reichman, General Motors Vice-President W. Deck, Atlantic Richfield Co. Vice President B. Hamilton, Bear Sterns Bank Chief F. Schefer, and treasurers of the states of Florida, Mississippi, Iowa and Minnesota.

Welcoming the guests, Gorbachev noted the importance of the forum in Moscow in the context of current changes in the country. He stressed the great importance of experience amassed by the U.S. business community and favored active development of real cooperation.

The conference in Moscow is discussing American investments in the USSR and assistance in reforming the Soviet pension system.

The conference will also consider Western experience of economic reforms and employment, the privatisation and free enterprise in the USSR.

The conference will run for nine days in Moscow and then in St. Petersburg.

## General McPeak Ends Visit to St. Petersburg

*LD0910044991 Moscow TASS in English 1926 GMT 9 Oct 91*

[By correspondent Anna Shcherbakova]

[Text] St. Petersburg October 8 TASS—A major result of the Soviet visit of U.S. Air Force Chief of Staff General Merrill McPeak was a preliminary agreement on the exchange of visits of strategic and tactical aviation aircraft.

This unprecedented event in the history of Soviet-U.S. relations may happen already next year, said head of the Soviet Air Force General Headquarters Colonel General Anatoliy Malyukov, who accompanied the U.S. guest in his trip around the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Air Force consists of high professionals, and we have something to learn from them, the U.S. general told TASS.

McPeak said he got acquainted with the Soviet Air Force command, met pilots on land and saw them flying. He noted the two air forces have much in common.

The general said he was pleased that his stay coincided with the dialogue between the Soviet and U.S. Presidents, who put forward far-reaching initiatives in the disarmament sphere. He believes these initiatives will help further expansion of military contacts, initiated two years ago by Admiral Crowe and Marshal Akhromeyev.

McPeak laid a wreath to the motherland monument at the Piskaryovskoye Memorial Cemetery, where thousands of Nazi victims are buried, and left his signature in the book of honorable guests.

On the same day, General McPeak left for the United States.

## Gates' Confirmation 'Problematic Indeed'

*PM0810160191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Oct 91 Single Edition p 5*

[By correspondent V. Linnik: "The Thorny Path To Becoming Director: Public Hearings of the Nominee for CIA Chief"]

[Text] New York—Robert Gates, the present nominee for CIA director, would certainly prefer to change places today with Ye. Primakov and V. Bakatin. Not, of course, in a literal sense. Gates' loyalty to the U.S. system is not in doubt. It is simply that the Soviet system of appointing intelligence chiefs would suit him far more than his own U.S. one.

If the situation in the United States today were the same as that in Russia, which has been thoroughly democratized in the last six years, then a simple stroke of the presidential pen would be enough for Gates to be appointed. There would be no wrangling with legislators or problems with awkward witnesses during the Senate public hearings to confirm Gates' candidacy. But someone who has enjoyed the trust of two presidents, Reagan and Bush, has the misfortune to have to run the gauntlet of the formalities of U.S. bourgeois democracy.

This path, as the public hearings on Gates' nomination, now in their third week, show, is proving very thorny for this veteran of the U.S. intelligence community. It is not enough that, in the words of the old song, Gates carries a "long trail of close ties." A growing number of legislators have growing doubts about his innocence regarding involvement in the "Iran-Contra" scandal. Dozens of times during the hearings the man with the phenomenal memory (a photographic memory, as many who know him bear witness) has uttered such unusual words for him as "I do not know," "it may have been so, I do not remember, and "I cannot rely upon the accuracy of my memory." Psychologists may be able to explain this as a natural desire on the part of any person to forget something unpleasant and expunge it from his memory. But it is hardly likely that legislators, particularly opposition Democrats, will be so magnanimous.

All the indications are that matters are not confined to this. A number of CIA veterans who have appeared during the hearings have set the legislators problems of a more general nature. They could potentially have far more destructive consequences for Gates than his knowledge or ignorance of the circumstances surrounding the "Iran-Contra" affair. I am referring to the charges leveled at Gates that he repeatedly slanted intelligence data to make it accord with the political precepts of his White House clients. Any information that ran contrary to instructions from above and Gates' own views was resolutely struck out and withdrawn from circulation. As a result, the end product of the CIA analysis services was carefully filtered information that wholly suited both Gates as the then CIA deputy director and those at the top for whom it was intended. This was achieved not least, as witnesses testify, by the atmosphere of intimidation created by Gates, which ruled out any attempt to express disagreement with the boss' opinion. This was stated in testimony to members of the Senate Intelligence Committee given by M. Goodman, H. Ford, and J. Glaudemans, former staffer of the CIA department charged with analyzing USSR policy in Third World countries.

The details related by these people regarding Gates' invariable tendency to impute the worst intentions to Soviet policy in different regions of the world are of special interest to us. The interpretation of the motives of the USSR's conduct in a cold war spirit was wholly in keeping with both Gates' own views and those of his then chief, CIA Director William Casey. Soviet policy everywhere, beginning with Iran and Afghanistan and ending with disarmament questions, was presented in recent years as far more sinister than it actually was.

Gates regarded perestroyka as a tactical ploy by the Kremlin, a propaganda stunt designed to mislead the West and undermine its ability to counter communism.

For many years Gates constantly went on about the inevitability of Gorbachev's removal and the threat of a right-wing coup that would reverse the process of reforms in the Soviet Union. "How was it possible in your position and with the information at your disposal not to see that the processes of democratization in the USSR have gone so far that they cannot be stopped?" Senator Bill Bradley, a member of the Intelligence Committee, asked Gates during the hearings.

The position adopted by Gates, who was responsible for all the information about the Soviet Union transmitted to the top in recent years, guaranteed that the U.S. response to USSR actions was invariably tougher and more hostile than the actual circumstances warranted. This now raises a legitimate question for the U.S. legislators: Do U.S. policymakers receive a product from the CIA whose quality matches the $30 billion spent on it annually? Thus gradually the hearings are turning into the starkest discussion since the seventies about the mores prevailing in the U.S. intelligence community. I would remind readers that flagrant abuse by U.S. intelligence agencies became public knowledge in 1976 as a result of the investigation conducted by the Senate committee chaired by Frank Church.

It is clear that special piquancy is being given to the hearings by the partisan duel that is heating up between Democrats and Republicans with the start of the presidential election campaign. The Democrats invite witnesses who are against Gates to testify, and the Republicans accordingly invite those who support President Bush's nominee. During cross-examination, legislators try to "sink" opposition party witnesses, to repudiate their testimony, and to trip up seasoned veterans of U.S. espionage. The confirmation of Gates as CIA director, contrary to what commentators and observers here were saying just a week ago, is consequently becoming problematic indeed.

## China

### PRC To Develop Japanese, Soviet Ties

*LD0810165991 Moscow TASS in English 1639 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[By correspondent Andrey Kirillov]

[Text] Beijing October 8 TASS—"China is attaching great importance to friendly ties with its neighbours, including Japan and the Soviet Union. We want to continue developing friendly relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence," Chinese Communist Party Leader Jiang Zemin said today.

Speaking during a meeting with a delegation from the Japanese Komeito Party, led by Party leader Koshiro Ishida, Jiang said the current international situation is full of dramatic changes. "We need a peaceful international environment and stable and united domestic situation to continue developing our economy," he said.

Jiang praised Sino-Japanese talks and noted that "exchanges of opinions between Chinese and Japanese leaders and politicians make a contribution to peace and stability in Asia and the whole world."

According to the XINHUA news agency, Jiang said China welcomes the normalisation of relations between Japan and North Korea.

### Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, Yangtse Agree to Ventures

*LD0810172891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0200 GMT 7 Oct 91*

[Text] Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk local authorities held talks with a delegation from Yangtse, their twin city in the PRC, on the inauguration of scheduled flights between the Soviet and Chinese cities. Agreement was reached on setting up joint ventures to manufacture consumer goods and on developing tourism and economic and cultural links.

### Irkutsk Concludes 'Major' Deals With Taiwan

*PM0710132191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Oct 91 Union Edition p 2*

[By Vladimir Sbitnev: "Taiwan Will Help Siberia"]

[Text] Irkutsk—Irkutsk Oblast has become the first in the country to conclude major agreements with Taiwan.

The talks between the Irkutsk people and the administration of this prosperous island republic were held within the framework of the recently established Soviet Far East Foundation, as we do not have diplomatic relations with Taiwan.

The first phase of the agreement envisages barter exchanges of raw materials for foodstuffs and consumer goods up to a value of $40 million.

Phase two consists of Taiwanese capital investment in the oblast's economy.

In the opinion of V. Bobrovnikov, leader of the Irkutsk delegation, there is a possibility of obtaining a 15- to 20-year loan to develop the agricultural complex.

## Northeast Asia

### Japanese Aid, Northern Islands Not Related

*LD0810165291 Moscow TASS in English 1625 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[By correspondent Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo October 8 TASS—The Japanese Government's decision to lend the Soviet Union 2.5 billion U.S. dollars as an emergency aid "has nothing to do with the

northern territorial issue," a high-ranking official from the Japanese Foreign Ministry said here today, speaking on condition of anonymity.

The Japanese decision was not caused by its striving to return the "Northern Territories," he stressed. The reason for this is the Japanese desire to contribute to the current Soviet changes and help create an atmosphere favourable for a broad development of the Soviet-Japanese relations in all spheres, the official noted.

It is also a reflection of the fact that Japan values highly and welcomes the current crucial reforms in the Soviet Union, especially the decisive steps in the sphere of democratisation and economic changes, he said.

The aid is intended for the whole Soviet Union. It is not to be distributed between specific republics, or, say, be given to Russia or the Soviet Far East alone.

### Progress in Soviet-Japanese Ties Viewed

*OW0810120491 Moscow Radio Moscow in Japanese 1100 GMT 27 Sep 91*

[Commentary by Radio Moscow's Dmitriyev]

[Text] It seems that a recent proposal, which was made by a Russian Supreme Soviet delegation visiting Tokyo, to create a desirable environment to promptly improve Soviet-Japanese relations has made a favorable impression not only on the Japanese leadership but also on the Soviet leadership. For example, one can safely say that this impression was underscored by the talks held in New York on 24 September between Soviet Foreign Minister Pankin and Japanese Foreign Minister Nakayama.

It appears that Japan's five principles regarding ties with the Soviet Union, which were stated by Foreign Minister Nakayama at the talks, raise hopes that both countries will start to make positive mutual concessions. The principles stated by Foreign Minister Nakayama consist of five points: 1) expanding Japan's assistance to the Soviet Union; 2) beefing up cooperative ties with the sovereign Russian Republic; 3) promoting the integration of the Soviet Union into the Asian-Pacific community, as well as the world community; 4) settling the territorial dispute; and 5) concluding a peace treaty.

Although Japan's assistance to the Soviet Union will be humanitarian and technical in nature, as Prime Minister Kaifu disclosed on 25 September from subsequent comments made by Foreign Minister Nakayama, this does not translate into a conceptual framework to expand balanced relations. Rather, it is based on a more lenient interpretation of the principle of inseparability of economic interests and political considerations that Japan has linked to the solution of the territorial issue as a condition for cooperation with the Soviet Union. Therefore, it can be said that Foreign Minister Nakayama's posture in New York is noteworthy for its affirmative characteristic. He also took into consideration the current situation in the Soviet Union. The current situation in the Soviet Union is believed to have changed Soviet-Japanese relations. First Deputy Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Khasbulatov's remarks also indicated such a change. During his recent visit to Japan, First Deputy Chairman Khasbulatov reconfirmed the view that bilateral issues should be adjusted based on international law and the principle of mutual interests. At the same time, Khasubulatov pointed out that regarding the territorial issue, public opinion should be taken into consideration.

Incidentally, such an attitude of the Russian Republic's leaders can be seen as creating the chance to get out of the diplomatic blind alley created by persistent efforts on both sides to interpret historic facts and laws and regulations in their own favor instead of progressing toward the conclusion of the peace treaty. Moreover, judging from Foreign Minister Nakayama's posture in New York, it seems that the Japanese Government may be disentangling itself from differing political views on improved bilateral ties.

Such a view has been indicated in remarks made by a leading politician of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party. This is but a matter of course because the normalization of bilateral ties, as well as the expansion of reciprocal cooperation based on the stabilization of the Soviet domestic situation, will be beneficial for both nations.

Currently, because such a possibility is greater than ever, it is hoped that both nations will make use of such a possibility during Foreign Minister Nakayama's upcoming Soviet visit, which was announced in New York.

This has been a commentary on the new phase in the relations between the Soviet Union and Japan.

### Japan Joins Venture To Build Oil Refinery

*LD0710154691 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2000 GMT 6 Oct 91*

[Text] An agreement has been signed in Nizhnyy Novgorod, an industrial city on the Volga River, to open a joint Soviet-Japanese venture to build a oil refinery and a petrochemical plant. The partners are going to achieve a 100-percent degree of processing. The industrial facility will be waste-free and ecologically clean. Besides, it will give local industries access to latest achievements in the field of oil refining.

### IZVESTIYA Interviews ROK Ambassador

*PM0810140191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Oct 91 Union Edition p 6*

[Interview with South Korean Ambassador Kong Nomyong by Yu. Tavrovskiy; date and place unspecified: "South Korean Ambassador: We Can Do Business in Your Country"; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] In the year since the establishment of interstate relations between the Soviet Union and South Korea

(the Republic of Korea), this Far East neighbor has probably become one of our country's most popular and "visible" partners. The names of South Korean firms can be seen in the advertising sections of newspapers and magazines and on street billboards. Exhibitions of goods are striking for their great range of quality consumer goods, some of which are even reaching our stores. There has been a high level of political activity—three summits and visits to Seoul by republic leaders and parliamentary delegations. It is therefore no surprise that Kong No-myong, ROK ambassador to the USSR, is entirely satisfied with the results of the first year of normal relations with our country.

[Kong No-myong] The documents establishing diplomatic relations were signed 30 September 1990, and we have come a long way since then. President No Tae-u visited Moscow in December, and soon after a Soviet delegation returned from Seoul with an agreement for $3 billion in credits. This spring President Gorbachev had a short stopover on Cheju Island and again talked with his South Korean counterpart. This was a brief but important, and I would say historic, meeting. Even against the backdrop of the turbulent events of the past two months, our countries have been able to conclude a major fisheries agreement. Quite recently Mr. Medvedev, President Gorbachev's personal representative, visited my country to talk about events in Moscow and to discuss the future of bilateral relations in conditions which are changing so rapidly.

[Tavrovskiy] Wasn't this visit linked to the doubts felt by some South Korean politicians about the expediency of fulfilling the credit agreement? Rumors of this kind have been circulating in Moscow's "corridors of power"...

[Kong No-myong] In principle there are no problems with the $3-billion agreement. We have issued an official statement about our resolve to implement it in full. Some technical details may change, of course... Consumer goods worth $800 million have already been shipped to the Soviet Union, just as our two countries' governments agreed. These goods will be delivered to the center and subsequently distributed among the republics. Again, just as was agreed a year ago.

[Tavrovskiy] Our countries' trade and economic relations are not limited to deliveries of goods on credit, are they?

[Kong No-myong] Of course not. Our businessmen are very active in the Soviet market. And not only the world famous "chaebol" [generic name for large ROK conglomerates] trade and industrial conglomerates that have opened large missions in Moscow. Medium-sized and small businesses are also traveling the "Seoul-Moscow-world" route. Just the other day, a businessman from a medium-sized company concluded an agreement to build a disposable syringe factory in the Ukraine. The general opinion of our businessmen is that they can do business in your country.

[Tavrovskiy] What role is the almost 1 million-strong community of Soviet Koreans playing in our countries' rapprochement?

[Kong No-myong] They are of great benefit, providing assistance ranging from purely linguistic help to consultations on the specifics of the economic situation in various republics. They know the customs and ways of the local inhabitants. It would take our businessmen many years to acquire such knowledge.

[Tavrovskiy] A year ago in the ROK, interest in all things Soviet was so great that there was talk of a "Soviet boom." What about now?

[Kong No-myong] There is no "boom" now, but there is a deep interest in the development of the political and economic situation in the Soviet Union. During the August putsch, both the people and the government were very worried about the fate of the reforms, and all the newspapers and television programs were full of items on the events in Moscow, the Crimea, and the republics. South Korea is investing capital in the Soviet Union, and its interest is developing from purely cultural or political to business. No one wants to waste money, and thus a deep and constant interest is developing that does not change with the fashion.

[Tavrovskiy] Korea, unfortunately, is a divided country, although recently there has been a growing trend toward its unification. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, there is an increasing trend toward disintegration right now. How do you view Soviet affairs in the light of Korean experience?

[Kong No-myong] The unification of Korea is requiring tremendous effort because of the split and differences in ideologies and political systems that have developed over 40 years. I do not know whether this may be a history lesson for the Soviet Union as well as a warning against disintegration. But to a certain extent, I understand the reasons why the republics want sovereignty and their own voice in resolving their problems. Your country is so vast that the granting of freedom of action to local authorities is perfectly natural. We are watching events attentively but in a neutral way, and if republics decide to become independent states, we will establish relations with them as subjects of international relations. The ROK Government has already recognized Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, and at the beginning of October our delegation will go there to discuss the question of establishing diplomatic relations.

On the whole, ties between my country and yours are developing very successfully and I am very happy with that.

### 'Nuclear Fog' Leaving Korean Peninsula

*SK0910044591 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1330 GMT 4 Oct 91*

[From "The World Today"]

[Text] The Korean peninsula has recently entered a new phase. To a degree, the passionate debate on the nuclear issue in Korea, which seemed to be on the brink of exploding, has calmed. The (?situation) is now moving in an entirely new direction.

Station commentator Viktor Valentinov writes the following about this:

I have just scrutinized reports on Korea published recently.

As if on cue, reporters unanimously used the term: a reactionary nuclear fog. Lucky that it was just a fog and not a reactionary mushroom cloud that has hung over the peninsula.

It is easy to guess what reporters' perception of a fog is. It all stems from the fact that U.S. nuclear weapons are deployed in the southern half of the Korean peninsula and that the DPRK has been developing its own nuclear weapons.

It is true that a few other countries have been drawn into the feud. One example that has worsened relations between the two Korean states to the extreme will be sufficient.

On Friday, 27 September, the ROK defense minister again warned the DPRK: If it does not stop the development of nuclear weapons, retaliation will follow.

Pyongyang has insisted that it will not allow international nuclear inspection of nuclear facilities unless the United States withdraws its nuclear weapons from the southern half of the Korean peninsula.

Relations between them have reached the point that each side threatens the other, as has been noted. On 27 September, Friday, the South openly threatened the North. The next day, however, the situation changed drastically: U.S. President Bush announced a broad proposal for reducing nuclear arms.

We would like to examine situation from a single angle—the fact that the United States has suggested that it will pull out all of its nuclear weapons deployed in the southern half of the peninsula as part of the proposal.

The tragic standoff between the South and North is Washington's own making. Although it is widely known that the United States has had its nuclear weapons in the southern half of the Korean peninsula, no one knew the size and composition. It is natural that very wild rumors have been circulating. Such rumors have been favorable to U.S. nuclear policy. The more fearful the rumors, the more effective the nuclear threat.

Today, with the cold war over, such a threat is not necessary. The United States has thus begun to reject such groundless rumors.

Through available information, we have learned that U.S. forces have deployed 100 tactical nuclear weapons in the South. All of these weapons must be withdrawn according to President Bush's arms control proposal.

The reaction from the two Korean states is encouraging.

In a speech delivered at the United Nations, Yon Hyong-muk, premier of the DPRK State Administration Council, said if the United States really withdraws its tactical nuclear weapons from the ROK, the North will agree to international inspection of its nuclear facilities.

The South, which was threatening the North as recently as a week ago, said it is discussing the issue of declaring the (?ROK) a nuclear-free zone.

Looking back on the stubbornness with which the DPRK had insisted on turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, prospects for denuclearizing the Korean peninsula appear wonderful.

The nuclear fog has begun dissipating.

## Direct Flights Open From Far East to Seoul

*OW0910062991 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 0930 GMT 27 Sep 91*

[By L. Stroykov; from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] The Far Eastern Aviation Corporation has opened a new international air route between Khabarovsk and Seoul.

[Begin Stroykov recording] From now on flights for Far East residents to the Republic of Korea will take less than three hours. Previously they had to fly either through Moscow or Japan. Negotiations and talks on an agreement went on for almost two years, but the decision arrived at was not a standard one, both in the political or technical sense.

Today the new route is the result of the joint work of aviators from the Khabarovsk and Maritime krays, Pyongyang, and Seoul. This became possible as a result of the new level of relations between our countries and a growing interest toward cooperation. Last year alone the turnover of goods between the Republic of Korea and the Soviet Union increased ninefold. And there is something to learn as well.

You are viewing this panorama of Seoul from the 63d story of the highest building in Asia. The leading companies of Korea—Hyundai, Samsung, Daiwoo, and Gold Star, and others—represent a high level in the manufacturing of automobiles, machinery, electronics, and light industry. The country's internal market has been fully saturated with locally produced goods in a relatively short period of time.

But closer contacts with the Far East also have a purely humanitarian significance. For many years hundreds of thousands of Soviet Koreans were not able to meet with

their relatives in North and moreover South Korea. The Far Eastern aviators have helped these people to reestablish broken ties.

[S.V. Kim, president of the De Gven Ltd. Co.] We awaited the opening of the air route from Khabarovsk with great impatience and are very happy that this has eventually happened. The development of business and tourism between our countries has received good support. Presently we will be meeting our partners from the Far Eastern Aviation Corporation once a week. The aircraft arrives on Sundays. But we hope that this is only the beginning.

[Stroykov] This flight is already history, but the Far Eastern Aviation Corporation is only beginning to pick up speed in developing international ties.

[L.V. Nagornyy, general director of the Far Eastern Aviation Corporation] I do not think that we will not stop here, that in the future we will have flights to Hong Kong and that our aircraft will fly to Singapore. We will also carry Sakhalin oil workers to Hanoi. [end recording]

## Southeast Asia & Pacific

### UN Advance Mission in Cambodia Described

*BK0910100391 Moscow Radio Moscow in Cambodian 1100 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Observer Viktor Valentinov's commentary]

[Text] The United Nations has just set up an advance mission for Cambodia. Concerning the significance of this latest UN step, our observer Viktor Valentinov has the following comment:

We are drawing closer and closer to 23 October, the long-awaited date on which a ceremony will be held in Paris to sign the final document that will wrap up the long negotiations over many years to find a comprehensive political solution to the Cambodian conflict. The final stage of this endeavor, as is widely known, has been going on with very active UN participation. The five permanent members of the UN Security Council worked out the settlement plan that, after some additional discussions and modifications, was finally accepted by all Cambodian parties involved in the conflict. The leaders of the four Cambodian factions highly appreciate the constructive role played by the United Nations in the talks now coming closer to their conclusion.

To be exact, all the documents that have been prepared now only await the signatures of all the parties concerned. Then, what's next? Next will be the beginning of a stage that, in my opinion, will be no less complex. Implementing the solution—that is, implementing the Paris agreement—requires that the United Nations play a relatively important role both from a political point of view and purely in terms of implementation. Because it is in part making preparations for the implementational activities themselves, we should take a closer look at the early stage of the creation of this UN advance mission for Cambodia.

According to the interpretation of the UN general-secretary, this mission has the duty of helping and encouraging the Cambodian parties concerned to respect the already effective cease-fire agreement and compelling them to provide information about the minefields. The two steps of this mission are of equal importance. Without solving both, there can be no hope of any successful settlement.

For example, despite the number of signatures given to the cease-fire agreement, fighting has flared up in Cambodia to the point of making any success of the settlement negotiations very questionable. For this reason, the UN advance mission is duty-bound to take measures that would prevent such an incident from recurring in the future, for the mission will hold in its hands the mandate bestowed upon it by the Supreme National Council of Cambodia. The same UN mission will also expend efforts toward clarifying and pinpointing minefields. Although a cease-fire has already been declared, many innocent people, mostly farmers, in those places have inadvertently stepped on the mines and perished in a most pitiful manner.

It is hoped in UN circles that not only the Phnom Penh government but also all opposition groups will cooperate with the advance mission. How then are the activities of the UN mission for Cambodia projected? The mission will immediately fulfill its duty after the Paris agreement is signed. Therefore, it is expected that even before the beginning of next month a few representatives of the mission will have departed for Cambodia. This group will be composed, among others, of some 70 military personnel with another 40 assigned to the communications sector. The mission's headquarters will be in Phnom Penh. The communications units will be attached to the military bases of each opposition party. Up to mid-December, the mission will be fully positioned on Cambodian soil, and it will function for a period of about six months. Afterwards, this advance mission will be dissolved and merged into the UN transitional authority in Cambodia, a mechanism that will take charge of all fields of activities—political, administrative, military, and economic—in support of the conflict settlement based on the Paris agreement.

## East Europe

### Leaders Urge Croatian Leaders To Cease Fire

*LD0910093791 Moscow TASS in English 0846 GMT 9 Oct 91*

[Text] Moscow October 9 TASS—At the request of the Soviet leadership, the following address to the leadership of Croatia was delivered on Tuesday [8 October] through the Soviet consul-general in Zagreb.

"The time has come when a very subtle line separates the Yugoslav crisis from a new spiral of military escalation, from new loss of life and destruction. The implementation of The Hague accords dated October 4, the accords that were reached with the constructive participation of Croatia, cannot be postponed any longer.

"According to information reaching us, Belgrade is prepared immediately to begin to implement the Belgrade-related part of the above-mentioned accords.

"We are confident that you are also prepared to cover your part of the road. As we have already emphasised, an important step in this respect would be to lift the blockade of Yugoslav Army garrisons on Croatian territory.

"The two sides' steps in response would open the way for lasting truce and a real possibility would arise for a successful finalisation of the negotiating process in The Hague.

"Now that literally even hours matter, we are calling on the leadership of Croatia and all parties involved in the conflict to display common sense and restraint, to cease fire and start a political dialogue," the message said.

### Croatia's Tudjman Interviewed on Conflict

*PM0910092091 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Oct 91 p 2*

[Interview with Croatia's Franjo Tudjman by RIA-NOVOSTI's S. Gryzunov and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA special correspondents V. Gorlov and Ye. Savishchev, datelined Zagreb and Belgrade; date, place of interview not stated: "Franjo Tudjman: 'We Have the Forces To Defend Ourselves'"]

[Text] [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Mr. Tudjman, there is no single interpretation in the world today of what is happening in Yugoslavia. What is your assessment of the reasons for the conflict in the country and the situation today, and what will tomorrow bring?

[Tudjman] Even before the departure of Josip Broz Tito from the political stage, expansionist forces had revived in Serbia, forces that had never agreed with Tito's concept of a federation and the application of the Marxist principle of the peoples' right to self-determination. They, therefore, worked for the destruction of the 1974 constitution created by the former president and for the creation of a "Greater Serbia." Here they formed an alliance with dogmatic communist forces, primarily from among the Army's ranks, which are opposed to reforms.

In other words, democratic transformations were not to the liking of many people in the leadership of both Yugoslavia and Serbia. What happened in Slovenia and Croatia, and here progressive forces had come to power, was perceived by them as some kind of temporary victory by the counterrevolution. The irreconcilability of two diametrically opposed views of many questions of state structure, including national questions, led first to disputes, then to conflicts and eventually war.

You know as well as I do how fiercely our troops are rebuffing the Army. I am confident that, thanks to the determination of the Croatian people and their desire to defend their land come what may, we will stand firm.

This confidence is reinforced by the fact that the Yugoslav People's Army as such has ceased to exist. All the generals and admirals of Croatian nationality and the vast majority of officers have come over to our side. We have recently seized around 80 military facilities. After beginning the war, almost with our bare hands compared with the equipment available to the Army, we today have about 100 tanks as well as guns and armored carriers.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Some observers believe that the conflict in Yugoslavia is associated with the coming to power of the party you head, the Croatian Democratic Union.

[Tudjman] That is indeed so. But our party won in an honest context, through elections in which 33 other parties took part, including the then ruling Communist party. Our national program attracted the people. We not only took into account the aspirations of young people, but also treated with respect those who lived in postwar Croatia, built it, raised it up, and fought for freedom. Many people now in the Croatian leadership were in the ranks of the antifascist movement during the Patriotic War. Believe me, it grieves them to hear present-day Croatia being accused of having pro-fascist, Ustasa views.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Many Yugoslav politicians, scholars, and experts are now discussing the problem of the partition of the country. How could this be done in practice without even more negative consequences?

[Tudjman] We are living in an era of integration, but at the same time, in a world of national individualization. This is a natural phenomenon. Europe and the entire world are integrating, as are countries like little Luxembourg, Denmark, Belgium and others, but in the course of this integration they still remain national entities.

We had proposed a similar model for Yugoslavia. But the war started. The other day, talking with Slobodan Milosevic and General Veljko Kadijevic, I said: If the war against Croatia were to end now, it would not be too late to bring into being an economic union between sovereign Croatia, Serbia, and other republics, a union capable of reviving relations in other spheres of life too. But if the war goes on, this will be impossible.

The separation of the republics and the sharing out of common property and common debts are not such great

problems. The main thing is how socially owned property, which is currently deemed to belong to nobody, can be privatized without wrecking the economy. That is difficult, but necessary.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Suppose Croatia received the longed-for sovereignty and independence. What will happen to the other peoples living there—we are thinking primarily, of course, of the Serbs?

[Tudjman] In Croatia, approximately 10 percent of the permanent population are Serbs. Even before, they had substantial rights and opportunities. They held many important posts in the police, the financial system, diplomacy. Our approach to resolving the problems of the Serbian minority was very careful. We made provision in the constitution for all civil rights and adopted a special document declaring guaranteed rights, cultural autonomy, local self-management, and even proportional participation in the power system.

When people say that the conflict has broken out primarily between the Croatian authorities and the Serbian people, one must remember it was the Serbian people who wanted to take over Croatian territories and incorporate them in "Greater Serbia." Here we are up against an irrational Serbian program: territories that have never been Serbian should for some reason be incorporated in that republic.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] After repeated cease-fire agreements, people are still dying. The impression is created that neither the Presidency nor the leadership of the republics has authority over certain detachments, on both the Croatian and the Serbian side.

[Tudjman] To some extent you are right. True, the Yugoslav Presidency is not functioning as a collective leadership organ, because it is caught in a stalemate. The overall majority of people on it adhere to Serbian positions. Slovenia is now showing no interest in what is happening in the country. And the fact that the Croat Mesic has become the latest president of the Presidency means nothing. He is helpless. The presidency is not functioning. It has no influence on the Yugoslav People's Army. It seems to me that when General Kadijevic, perhaps sincerely, signs yet another cease-fire document, his entourage has a strong influence on him.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] The whole world is anxiously watching events in Yugoslavia, because the threat of a major new war emanates from there. Is that a possibility?

[Tudjman] Probably all serious people are asking themselves this question now. Obviously, some who admit the possibility of a new great war and even want it for their own self-interested purposes imagine a confrontation between Germany and France, or else a putsch in your country. But Europe has matured and is hardly likely to permit that.

A war in the Balkans is a very real possibility. Apart from Croatia, the situation is equally explosive in Macedonia and Kosovo. And don't forget Bosnia and Hercegovina. The republic has already divided in effect, and wherever the majority population is Serbian, everything possible is being done to turn the population against Croatia. But the attempt to create a little Yugoslavia at the expense of our lands is doomed. I have said this before and would like to repeat it: We have the determination and the forces to defend ourselves.

## West Europe

### Gorbachev Meets Italian Businessmen

*LD0810165491 Moscow TASS in English 1636 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[By correspondent Lyudmila Shvedova]

[Text] Moscow October 8 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev this afternoon met the leader of the Italian Confederation of Industry (Confidustria) Sergio Pininfarina and a group of Italian businessmen accompanying him on the trip to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet scientific and industrial union.

They arrived in the Kremlin after talks with members of the Soviet business community, which were crowned with the decision to set up a permanent Soviet-Italian committee for the establishment of direct business contacts between Italian firms and companies and entrepreneurs in the Soviet Union.

The results of talks in Moscow was one of the topics discussed during the conversation of Italian business people with the Soviet president, which was held in the spirit of mutual understanding.

### Seminar With Germans Views Security Strategy

*LD0810161591 Moscow TASS in English 1418 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[By correspondent Konstantin Savvin]

[Text] Berlin October 8 TASS—A European security and peace strategy is the subject of a joint seminar of the officers of the Bundeswehr and the western group of Soviet troops. The seminar that opened here on Monday [7 October] is being held for the first time.

Contacts between the servicemen of the two countries in the new federal lands develop productively, Colonel Reinhart Herzog of the Bundeswehr's corps and territorial command post, pointed out in his speech.

Major General Ivan Konovalenko, deputy chief of staff of the western group of Soviet troops, referring to the situation in Yugoslavia, pointed out the need to work out a collective security system designed to rule out the possibility of military clashes in Europe.

By October 1, 134,000 Soviet people, including 95,000 servicemen, left Germany's new lands for the USSR, Konovalenko said. This accounts for 84 per cent of the contingent that is expected to be fully withdrawn and brought home in 1991. Last Soviet naval units left German ports in June this year.

### Bundeswehr's Future Role, Tasks Eyed

*PM0810134791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Oct 91 Union Edition p 6*

[A. Balandin article: "New Role for Bundeswehr? NATO Intends To Involve Germans in Combat Operations Outside Alliance Territory"]

[Text] Bonn—"A decision of historic scale," "Our hopes are being realized," "The West can disarm itself because the threat from the East no longer exists," "Do we need the army now?"—statements, questions, and predictions of that kind are filling the pages of the local press as it analyzes events in East Europe and the Soviet Union as well as the U.S. Administration's decision to reduce nuclear systems.

Against the background of these assessments, a discordant note was sounded by an article in STERN magazine imbued with alarm for the fate of Germany, an article on the persistent striving of German generals for the role of "world gendarme," which was previously assigned to the superpowers in all the scenarios of possible cataclysms.

"The paradox is," STERN writes, "that as the threat to Germany, from whichever quarter it comes, diminishes, the likelihood grows that the Bundeswehr will become embroiled in bloody conflicts in which German soldiers will die."

The discussion and approval of NATO's new strategy to replace the current rapid response doctrine will take place in November. Little information is available to date on the actual details of it. It is already well known, however, that the place assigned to Germany in it is by no means the least important. It is planned, for example, to form at least two and perhaps four multinational offensive formations in which the participation of German soldiers is envisaged.

In Bavaria and Saxony, two divisional headquarters have been formed to coordinate actions in the performance of "special tactical operational tasks." Defense Ministry staffers refuse to answer any questions on the purpose of the creation of these headquarters. Each time they merely repeat politely: We would be grateful if you desisted in your extraordinary requests. What extraordinary thing did the people in uniform see in the natural desire to clarify the point: Will Germans be taking part in fighting in other countries? All attempts to visit these installations are also thwarted.

An official Defense Ministry document defines these "special tasks" as "participation in the framework of general alliance formations in overcoming crises." It seems that the German generals, stung by criticism from the allies about their "virtual inactivity" during the Persian Gulf war, do not want to hear those accusations again.

E. Bahr, well-known security expert, believes that this has long been in preparation. A gradual reassessment of approaches to the country's defense has begun. G. Stoltenberg, head of the FRG Military Department, has stated: "We know that peace in Europe still does not mean peace for Europe." Hence the question of where does the "defense of the fatherland," for which the Bundeswehr was created in 1955, ultimately begin: on the national border or on the border of the NATO zone? Or perhaps it begins where some mad dictator begins to create long-range missiles or weapons of mass destruction that threaten Europe and consequently Germany, too?

The discussion is being conducted at a time when many people in Germany are beginning to think that the Bundeswehr is no longer necessary at all, as demonstrated by a public opinion poll conducted by the Allensbach Opinion Poll Institute. Around one-half of those polled think that civilian service by draftees will benefit the country more than service under arms.

If Germans do take part in military actions outside their country, they will need well-trained professional units. Ultimately the question is: What role will be assigned to the Bundeswehr in a peaceful Europe, and what tasks will it be set? At the moment the Defense Ministry is like a firm that intends to start by restructuring itself and then decide what it is going to produce.

The reorientation has begun in principle. Will it be necessary then to make the corresponding changes to the country's constitution, which bans the use of German soldiers outside the NATO countries' territory? Previously Chancellor Kohl had stated that the Bundeswehr may be used in other regions only subject to relevant amendments in the Basic Law. But as pressure from allies mounts, there are increasingly frequent hints about the possibility of such a step.

When elaborating plans for possible combat operations, NATO generals have long included German soldiers in them. The first "test" has been carried out: A multinational mobile formation consisting of British, Belgian, Dutch, and German airborne troops took part in allied exercises that ended recently. One of the tasks was to transport detachments deep into "enemy territory" and wage combat operations there. This unit, in the opinion of NATO command, will be the prototype of future similar formations involving Germans.

### Soviet Deserters 'Growing' in Germany

*LD0810225791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[From the 'TV Inform' newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent V.Kondratyev] Before German unification, there were no particular problems with deserters in the Western Group of Troops. The GDR immediately handed them over to their brothers-in-arms. Now it's a more tricky business. What is more, the issue is one of the most acute in our generally good relations with the Germans.

There are over 200 deserters, and their numbers are growing, albeit slowly. In theory, according to the bilateral agreement, desertion comes under the jurisdiction of the Soviet Army in Germany, and the Germans must hand back soldiers who renounce their oath. They do not do that, however, making reference to their own laws, until the end of a lengthy procedure for the granting of political asylum, which can be spun out for years if desired, and usually the deserters submit an application that makes their handover impossible.

Hardly anyone among the Soviet servicemen stands any change of obtaining political asylum. According to our information, about 60 percent of deserters have committed misdemeanors and even crimes, including murder. Some deserters in the FRG are caught stealing or involved in other unsavory affairs, as described in the local press. But there are among them some who have fled from their unit after suffering barrack-room abuses or ethnic persecution.

Lawyer Oleg Klyamin, a member of the special commission that has been investigating these cases, has also mentioned the creation in our country of a special KGB group to snatch back deserters.

The only realistic way to bring about a solution of the problem is the further democratization of our army life, the creation of such civilized conditions for performing active service, and civilized military legislation in which the German side would have no pangs of conscience when handing over runaway servicemen.

### France To Help Modernize Nuclear Stations

*PM0810112591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Oct 91 Union Edition p 1*

[Unattributed report from the "IZVESTIYA, TASS, RIA" column]

[Text] Soviet nuclear power generation may be modernized with the help of French technology.

For the first time ever, the French "Framatome" company, the world leader in nuclear power station construction, has signed a major contract for the delivery of equipment for Soviet nuclear stations. Specialists are convinced, our correspondent was told at the NFM firm, a Framatome subsidiary, that once their units are installed, our stations using VVER-1000 reactors will be more modern and secure.

## Political & Social

### Rumors of Gorbachev Shooting Circulate

#### 'Vague Rumors' Spread

*LD0910103891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0445 GMT 9 Oct 91*

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev; this item was subsequently killed by TASS at 0657 GMT with the following service message: "The report that rumors on an attempt on the life of Mikhail Gorbachev has sent the Tokyo Currency Exchange into a state of turmoil is hereby killed."]

[Text] Tokyo, 9 Oct (TASS)—"Is it true that USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has been shot?" The Tokyo branch of TASS received shortly after noon today a series of anxious telephone calls asking one and the same question. Staff members of companies dealing in securities, numerous journalists of newspapers and information services specializing in economic news asked this question one after the other.

The reason for these calls, as it has come to light, were the vague rumors which spread like lightning among market dealers on new dramatic events which had allegedly taken place in the Soviet Union—that there had been either an attempt on the life of Gorbachev or a new Kremlin coup. These rumors which spread to Tokyo from Singapore, the KYODO TSUSHIN agency states, led to a certain rise of the U.S. dollar exchange rate against the Japanese yen on the Tokyo currency market—the dollar had begun to fall recently against the background of the widespread opinion that the finance ministers and the leaders of the central banks of the G7 [Group of Seven] countries will advocate a "strong yen" at the conference due to take place in Bangkok in a few days. This is certainly not the first time that rumors about the situation in the USSR being extremely unstable are causing panic on the Japanese hard currency and securities markets. Long before the August coup Mikhail Gorbachev was repeatedly "dispatched to retirement" in the same manner. The stock exchange reaction was always quick to follow: hard currency exchange rates going haywire. For instance, the Tokyo stock exchange reacted to the August coup by a major drop in the value of the shares. As recently as last Friday [4 October], TASS correspondents in Tokyo had to deny conjectures alleging that a new coup attempt was undertaken in the Soviet Union. They were caused by Aleksandr Yakovlev's statement that Soviet women's empty pans could create favorable conditions for a new coup.

The "Chinese whispers" of exchange brokers transformed these statements into a real coup attempt which immediately affected the situation on the market. "Sometimes such rumors are spread artificially with a view to raising the dollar exchange rate," well-informed U.S. sources who follow the stock exchange situation closely told the TASS correspondent.

Meanwhile, the real events in the USSR have had a grave influence upon the situation on the financial markets of Japan in the past. The Tokyo stock exchange reacted to the August coup with a large- scale fall in the price of shares. On one day alone, 19 August, the Nikkei index—the aggregate index of share prices of 225 leading companies—fell by 1,357.61 points and the yen exchange rate dropped sharply on the Tokyo currency exchange.

#### Further on Rumors

*LD0910113791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0740 GMT 9 Oct 91*

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev; this item subsequently killed at 0753 GMT with the following message: "For the information of TASS subscribers. The report from Tokyo 'Japan-Gorbachev-Rumors' is hereby killed."

[Text] Tokyo, 9 Oct (TASS)—"Is it true that USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has been shot?" The Tokyo branch of TASS received shortly after noon today a series of anxious telephone calls asking one and the same question. Staff members of companies dealing in securities, numerous journalists of newspapers and information services specializing in economic news asked this question one after the other.

The reason for these calls, as it has come to light, were the vague rumors which spread like lightning among market dealers on new dramatic events which had allegedly taken place in the Soviet Union—that there had been either an attempt on the life of Gorbachev or a new Kremlin coup. These rumors which spread to Tokyo from Singapore, the KYODO TSUSHIN agency states, led to a certain rise of the U.S. dollar exchange rate against the Japanese yen on the Tokyo currency market—the dollar had begun to fall recently against the background of the widespread opinion that the finance ministers and the leaders of the central banks of the G7 countries will advocate a "strong yen" at the conference due to take place in Bangkok in a few days.

This is certainly not the first time that rumors about the situation in the USSR being extremely unstable are causing panic on the Japanese hard currency and securities markets. Long before the August coup Mikhail Gorbachev was repeatedly "dispatched to retirement" in the same manner. As recently as last Friday [4 October], the TASS correspondents in Tokyo had to deny conjectures alleging that a new coup attempt had been undertaken in the Soviet Union. They were caused by the thought expressed by Aleksandr Yakovlev that Soviet women's empty pans could create favorable conditions for a new coup.

The "Chinese whispers" of exchange brokers transformed these statements into a real coup attempt which immediately affected the situation on the market. "Sometimes such rumors are spread artificially with a view to raising the dollar exchange rate," well-informed

U.S. sources who follow the stock exchange situation closely told the TASS correspondent.

### TASS on Rumors

*LD0910100491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0820 GMT 9 Oct 91*

[By TASS Correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo, 9 Oct (TASS)—Rumors of "dramatic events in the Kremlin" today evoked a series of anxious telephone calls to the Tokyo office of TASS. Traders at share dealing companies and numerous journalists on newspapers and news services specializing in economic news called one after the other to ask about their authenticity.

The reason for these calls, it has become clear, was "Chinese whispers" among exchange brokers. "Of late a variety of conjectures about the situation inthe USSR has been aritifically disseminated so as to increase the dollar exchange rate", the TASS correspondent was told by informed U.S. sources who keep a constant eye on the market situation.

This is certainly not the first time that rumors about the situation in the USSR being extremely unstable are causing panic on the Japanese hard currency and securities markets. Long before the August coup Mikhail Gorbachev was repeatedly "dispatched to retirement" in the same manner. The stock exchange reaction was always quick to follow: hard currency exchange rates going haywire. For instance, the Tokyo stock exchange reacted to the August coup by a major drop in the value of the shares. As recently as last Friday, TASS correspondents in Tokyo had to deny conjectures alleging that a new coup attempt was undertaken in the Soviet Union. They were caused by Aleksandr Yakovlev's statement that Soviet women's empty pans could create favorable conditions for a new coup. This time, too, the brokers' "Chinese whispers" have played a bad joke. According to the KYODO TSUTSIN agency, the hazy hints about "a new aggravation of the situation in the USSR" which have reached Tokyo from Singapore, have resulted in the U.S. dollar gaining somewhat on the Japanese yen at the Tokyo hard currency exchange. Recently, the dollar began to go down against the backdrop of a widespread view that at their Bangkok conference, due to be held in several days, the G-7 finance ministers and the heads of the central banks would advocate a strong yen.

### Rumors 'Have No Real Grounds'

*LD0910105291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1030 GMT 9 Oct 91*

[Text] The rumors about the alleged attempt on the life of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, which are spreading in some Western countries, have no real grounds. This was reported today to TASS correspondents in the apparatus of the head of the Soviet state. Grigoriy Revenko, the head of the apparatus of the USSR president, reported by telephone that he has just held a conversation with Mikhail Gorbachev. The working day of the president started early in the morning, and it is full, as usual.

The personal guard of the head of the Soviet state also announced that he has no knowledge of any incidents relating to the person under their guard.

In Japan, the latest canard connection with the unstable situation in the USSR not only caused a flurry of telephone calls to the TASS office, but also some excitement on the Tokyo exchange. A rise in the dollar rate against the yen was recorded. It cannot be ruled out that the rumors being spread are nothing other than exchange dealers playing games.

### Spokesman on Gorbachev's Schedule

*LD0910113891 Moscow TASS in English 1122 GMT 9 Oct 91*

[By TASS correspondents Leonid Timofeyev and Lyudmila Shvedova]

[Text] Moscow October 9 TASS— Rumours that are circulating in some Western countries about an alleged attempt on the life of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev "are totally unfounded", a presidential staff spokesman told TASS today.

Grigory Revenko, chief of the presidential staff, told TASS over the telephone that he had just spoken to Mikhail Gorbachev. The president's workday began early in the morning and his schedule is busy as usual.

The president has already met Aleksander Yakovlev and is expected to have a talk with Gavriil Popov and to receive U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Edward Madigan this afternoon.

The president's personal guards also said that they did not know anything about any incidents connected with the president.

In Japan, this "canard", connected with the unstable situation in the Soviet Union, not only caused a spate of telephone calls to the TASS correspondent's office but also some agitation at the Tokyo money market which recorded a rise in the rate of the dollar against the yen.

It cannot be ruled out that these rumours are none other than "games" by stock market dealers.

### Rumors 'Greatly Exaggerated'

*LD0910132291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1250 GMT 9 Oct 91*

[Text] Moscow, 9 Oct (TASS)—The press service of the USSR president reports that Mikhail Gorbachev read with interest mass media reports concerning an attempt on his life or a political coup, but in his words, they are

"greatly exaggerated." In any event, there has been no threat to him at all in the past 24 hours, either personally, or as USSR president.

### Shevardnadze: Another Coup Still Possible

*OW0810182991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1715 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, head of the USSR Foreign Political Association, told a Moscow conference of US investors on Tuesday [8 October] that the threat of another rightist coup "is still a reality to be reckoned with." He said this threat "is not coming from any specific structures but may be rooted in the deteriorating economic situation and declining production."

Mr. Shevardnadze said he feared that the drastic slump in living standards might provoke spontaneous street protests at a time when "inflation goes up by 3-3.5 percent every week, production decline may amount to 20 by the year's end, meat output may shrink by 17-18 in 1991, and the grain harvest prospects are rather uninspiring."

The accumulation of a huge mass of paper money unbacked by goods and the continuing economic difficulties may take hungry and enraged people out into the street to demand a marked improvement of the economic situation: these people may find themselves led by the most reactionary groups, Shevardnadze said.

According to him, this would be "a real tragedy for the peoples of the Soviet Union and for the world community as a whole."

Soviet ex-foreign minister also said he believed the persistent lack of political and economic instability in the Soviet Union was posing a major threat to today's world. He suggested this threat might be even more serious than the threat of a nuclear or ecological holocaust looming over humanity.

Mr. Shevardnadze said there was a new draft political treaty based on the notion of "a single political and military-strategic space" among the various ex-Soviet states. If they signed an economic treaty and proceeded to negotiate a political treaty, the USSR could get a chance to stabilize the internal political situation.

The way Mr. Shevardnadze sees it, the first signs of greater economic and political stability in the Soviet Union may make themselves felt no sooner than the second half of 1992.

"It is important to live through these 6-8 months without political shocks or cataclysms," Shevardnadze pointed out.

### TASS Carries Press Review for 9 Oct

*LD0910075391 Moscow TASS in English 0729 GMT 9 Oct 91*

["Press review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow October 9 TASS—"In the absence of Russia's President Boris Yeltsin, the future of the accords reached in Alma- Ata is problematic," NEZAVISEMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT GAZETTE) writes today in comment on differences that have arisen among the Russian leadership after Russia's representative, authorised by President Yeltsin, signed an agreement at a meeting in Kazakhstan on the establishment of a single economic space by former Union republics.

The newspaper believes that, "as the Russian authorities see it, a 'single economic space' is a variation of the transformation of the communist empire into a community based on somewhat different principles, in which Russia, however, could continue to play its leading role". It seems that it is precisely this "leading role" that Russian leaders take care of most of all now, the INDEPENDENT GAZETTE notes.

Union republics that have declared themselves to be independent states, as well as East European countries will have to return to close economic cooperation in this or that form, Pavel Bunich, PRAVDA's economic news analyst and member of the newly-elected Soviet parliament, writes in the newspaper.

"The East European market is the product of centuries-long relationships between Russia, the Baltics, Poland, Finland, Bulgaria, etc., and not the product of the Stalin-Brezhnev times, and not even the product of Nicholas II," Bunich emphasises. The euphoria of pro-Western orientation will quickly evaporate, the analyst believes.

One of the contributors to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, in an article on the country's economic position, expresses the supposition that an improvement will come next summer. The writer of the article believes that it is business circles and local entrepreneurs that must take the huge country out of the quagmire of the economic crisis.

Business people are the economy's "bearing element" which has already begun to manifest itself, notwithstanding the crisis and outward chaos, the article states.

Newspapers continue to highlight reports about the situation in Georgia where the conflict between President Zviad Gamsakhurdia and the opposition is intensifying.

TRUD's own correspondent in Tbilisi, who witnessed massive clashes outside the government house on Rustaveli Avenue on October 4 and 5, describes them as "an overt relapse of civil war".

A similar estimate of developments in Georgia is being made by a SELSKAYA ZHIZN (RURAL LIFE) correspondent in a dispatch from the Georgian capital.

He believes that "it would be extremely difficult to overcome the crisis even if the republican president is deposed or resigns" and that a "new spiral of large-scale internecine strife can be expected".

"A Turning-Point in Perestroyka" is the headline under which TRUD carries an interview taken from Moscow's Mayor Gavriil Popov in Italy where the Moscow leader arrived to represent his book of the same title published in Florence.

Popov favours an acceleration of reforms, emphasising that the democrats, despite differences, should achieve a unified platform and "carry out basic transformations in the coming years."

He cautioned that "if the democratic forces fail to make use of the current favourable situation and would not effect changes quickly, there would emerge forces that can lead to a putsch but this time of a different variant—a fascist one".

A signed article in RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA newspaper analyses the state of the present-day workers' movement in the country. "The workers have turned their back on the Soviet Communist Party", the writer of the article states, pointing out that "the workers' movement is, basically, already prepared to accept and actively promote economic and political reforms".

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA reports that a meeting of advocates of creating Bashkiria's Independent Party of Socialist Orientation took place in Ufa. A republican organising committee has been set up to draft a programme and rules of a new party which, in the short term, will seek the election of a larger number of workers to the central parliaments and to those of the the Russian Federation and Belorussia.

The same newspaper carries reflections by Igor Molyarov, secretary of the Moscow Committee of the "Communist Initiative" Youth Movement, after the Young Communist League (YCL) congress.

He describes the recent YCL congress's decision on the self- dissolution of the YCL, or Komsomol, as the betrayal of the rank and file YCL members by the league's leaders. He advocates the revival of the Komsomol and champions the unity of all youth forces of socialist orientation.

The INDEPENDENT GAZETTE carries Yelena Bonner's open letter to the presidents of Russia and Kazakhstan, Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev.

She recalled that, despite the agreements signed in Zheleznovodsk with their mediation, bloodshed continues in Nagorno-Karabakh. The presidents have got to find mechanisms to implement the agreements that bear their signatures, Bonner emphasises.

Patriarch Aleksey II of Moscow and All Russia gave an interview to PRAVDA's correspondent in Beirut at the close of his tour of the Middle East.

One of the purposes of the tour was to "strengthen Orthodox unity", the patriarch said. In response to questions, he categorically came out against conflicts on a religious basis.

"In Jerusalem, the world's three main religions have their shrines, all of which must be accesible to the pilgrimage of believers. Alongside the shrines, religious communities should be preserved as well", the patriarch said.

In an interview with the INDEPENDENT GAZETTE, Austria's Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky pointed out that Austria builds its present-day political and economic relations with the Soviet Union on the balance of contacts with the "political centre" which in the West is associated with President Gorbachev and republics".

### Democratic Movement Supports Economic Treaty

*LD0910045491 Moscow TASS in English*
*2300 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Text] Moscow October 9 [date as received] TASS—The Political Council of the Movement for Democratic Reforms called on all political parties and movements on Tuesday [8 October] to support and approve the conclusion of a treaty on economic community.

"The movement for democratic reforms believes that the development of a free economic space between sovereign states (former Union republics) is one of the major conditions for a successful fulfilment of democratic transformations," a statement of the movement says on the conclusion of a treaty on economic community.

The document notes that "a course towards consistent reforms implies the preservation of acting economic relations and the formation of the new, broad and diverse ones, between producers, which are to be based not on departments' dictate but on mutual interest of partners, equal in all respects."

"it should not be allowed that politics unceremoniously intrudes once again in economic affairs, this time under democratic slogans," the statement says.

Possibilities of democratic escape from the crisis should not be missed. The practical organisation of economic relations on a qualitatively new and progressive basis should begin, the document stresses.

### Democratic Reforms Movement on Human Rights

*LD0610060691 Moscow TASS in English*
*1631 GMT 5 Oct 91*

[Text] Moscow October 5 TASS—The Political Council of the Movement for Democratic Reforms on Saturday [5 October] issued a statement on violations of human rights in the Soviet Union.

The statement welcomes republics's drives for independence and their adherence to democratic principles, human rights and freedoms.

At the same time, it voiced concern about attempts in some republics to connect the right to citizenship with people's origin, infringing upon the rights of non-ethnic residents.

These measures violate generally recognised international norms and provoke ethnic conflicts, the statement said.

The council condemned violations of human rights in some republics and called on their supreme legislative and executive bodies to be consistent in carrying out democratic reforms.

### Yakovlev Calls For Unity of All Democrats

*924B0007A Moscow TRUD in Russian*
*27 Sep 91 pp 1-2*

[Article based on speech by A.N. Yakovlev at the recent First Moscow Conference of Democratic Reform Movements: "A.N. Yakovlev: 'All Democrats Must Unite'"]

[Text] Creeping counterrevolution has been in evidence since last fall. We all recall the ideological and organizational mobilization of reaction, although we immediately forgot about its ideological troubadours, who are in hiding today but are ready to transform their pens into ideological swords again. The bureaucratic apparatus has squared its shoulders and the process of restricting the freedom of the mass media is active. The "witch hunt," the search for "guilty parties," "traitors," and "degenerates," and the persecution of representatives of the reformist wing in the society have been gathering steam.

On the wave of the real economic and social problems, the ruling class, recovering from its fear, has begun to work actively to sabotage the democratic reforms. It found it advantageous to assert that the democratic social transformations were what destroyed the consumer market and financial circulation, what generated the materials woes, the unethical behavior, and the decline of morals, and what destroyed interest in culture. In this campaign they actively capitalized on all the mistakes and blunders in the politics of recent years and the endless maneuvering from "left to right" and "right to left."

Of course, when everything was laid bare, when the indignation and malice splashed to the surface, when emotions were on the verge of exploding, it was easy to direct them toward specific individuals, thus sidestepping their responsibility for the disintegration and economic destruction, as though it had been the democrats who had been ruling the country for the past 70 years. And even today the RKP's [Russian Communist Party members] and Zhirinovites, relying on the all-pervasive baseness in our society, are continuing their policy of immoral populism, trying to discredit any viable cause.

And so they have and still do continue to regard our people as some kind of stupid clods who are prepared to rise up again under neo-Bolshevist banners smattered with democratic terminology. But through their own torments these people have learned that the trouble was generated by the system in all of its totality, the system which pushed man away from any viable or useful cause. It deliberately taught him to lie, steal, and loaf. Equality in poverty—that is it, the brake that has fatally halted the development of the society. This is the great invention of the ruling class which has provided it with uncontrolled omnipotence.

Our country and our state are being eaten up by alienation—spiritual, national, psychological, and political. In this hellish game fate has thrust a sword between people, leaving them alone, unhappy, and without any faith in themselves. Hopes and nightmares have merged into one tragic clump. The interweaving of destinies, a sincere belief in the attainment of a better life, self-sacrifice, and the most honorable intentions of the people—they have all been thrown into the pot of all-consuming power, whose ideology and politics have been fed by blood and lies, a phantasmagoria, a theater of the absurd, idolatry, a religion of slavery—all these mixed together.

But we must catch up with the times, which have gotten ahead of us, for we are behind by two ages—the industrial age and the information age. And as a result we have been left with a profoundly sick society, a standard of living which is in the sixtieth percentile among countries of the world, a permanent neglect of the spirit, ostracism of intellectuals, and power to the stupid. The ingrained presumption of a person's guilt is the wet nurse of hundreds of thousands of overseers checking on our morality, conscience, purity of world view, and obedience to the authorities. The truth has been equated to a criminal act. The crime, the waiting lines, the boorishness, the embezzlement of public funds—these extend from the stock clerk to the minister.

Rus', according to Trotskiy, was an "abomination which had to be thrown like an armful of kindling onto the bonfire of world revolution." And for this the lumpen-revolutionaries created a lumpen-socialism. State feudalism with kolkhoz [collective farm] bondage, noneconomic coercion for the workers, and permanent persecution of the intelligentsia. Monopower seized monoproperty under fiercely antibourgeois banners, not understanding that the new society had to be postbourgeois and not antibourgeois. And in all this—down with democracy, the market, human rights, private property, payment according to labor; onward to monothinking and a monopower. The criminal Stalin-Brezhnev regime degraded man, exhausted his morale, as it did the raw material resources and the workforce; it demoralized the society, degraded professionalism, pushed wastefulness to the extreme, militarized the society and the economy, created immense zones of ecological disaster, and led the people to poverty and social degradation.

Today it is as though we are living in two worlds. The old, Stalinist world, in spite of its defeat, still does not want to leave the scene and is grabbing on to everything that could serve as a support for it. And the new one is floundering in the old structures and frequently beginning to operate according to their rules of the game.

I am afraid that a phantom of democracy might pass through our country just as destructively as did that other bony phantom that devastated our land and souls. How can all this happen? Because in recent years we have merely attempted to tear off the mantle of "secrecy" which ensnares our society to this day. This is the Stalinist and post-Stalinist mechanism of bureaucratic dictatorship with all of its constituent parts, overt and covert, and with all of its sources and consequences.

It has often been said that progress toward a prosperous society cannot be achieved without a radical breakdown of the socioeconomic system and a fundamental political reform, without saying farewell to the monopoly of the totalitarian-state form of property, the dishonest, antipopular, self-devouring, and self-decomposing property, or without equal rights for all forms of property.

But things are moving very slowly even today. This is why a complete elimination of this rotten power mechanism is a condition for the creation of a new sociopolitical structure based on common sense and national accord and the creation of a law-governed, democratic, civil society that is capable of providing for and protecting the possibilities for self-realization of the individual.

Common sense makes it impossible to understand why the masses have been taken in by utopia, why history did not deign to provide a different alternative to violence, something other than more violence. Why are ideas of social justice and freedom being flouted so crudely, inhumanly, and cynically? Why are the most heinous crimes becoming socially acceptable—bloody repressive measures against our own people, destruction of the peasantry, ecological barbarism, destruction of the material and spiritual symbols of the past, the formation of a special caste of party-state bosses, the inculcation of a state religion—a religion of struggle, violence, and intolerance—and the shameless parasitic exploitation of man's eternal hopes for a better life in the future?

Marxist utopias have exerted a direct influence on the course of life in our country since the revolution. This was manifested primarily in the nihilistic attitude toward the institutions of a civil society and the underestimation of the traditional mechanisms for stimulating labor. The shifting of focus from the problem of providing incentives for good work to problems of distribution and control over the produced product and the individual producer was utterly wrong.

But Bolshevist communism has lost the argument with history because of these and many other original sins implanted in its genes. Our society before perestroyka was strongly reminiscent of the slave-owning society in the way that mutual interests and the entire system of economic and social motivation were structured. The complete alienation of everyone from everything predetermined the fact that nobody needed the system as a whole: neither the "lower levels" nor the "upper levels." The maximum that was still viable was the personal, individual position, if it entailed even minor privileges. And that is all. This is why "that socialism" collapsed with the same lightning speed and surprising ease as the slave-owning system did in its day—without wars or revolutions. This is the result of living with lies, economic ignorance, and political powerlessness.

They say that today time is on the side of radical transformations and at the same time it is working against them. There is probably some truth in both. It is clear that the transformations are inevitable. But today our people are sick and tired of those damned waiting lines and deficits, of disorder and poverty, of homelessness and lawlessness, of boorishness and barbarity. A solution must be found. There has to be a solution. I am convinced that conditions for this solution could be our final liberation from the delusion and complete economic, political, and spiritual freedom for humankind.

Democracy has won out but God save us from extreme rapture. The well-known father of Russian democracy Kis Vorobyanin along with Ostap Bender hoped that we would receive help from abroad. Nobody is going to help us except for ourselves, although I am strongly in favor of having our state enter the world economy as quickly as possible. Who will help us if our country is still in the past, even though the changes may be colossal. The society has actually entered an age of transformation. But the conditions in which our people have been placed could not instill in them either respect for the individual or a sense of justice or a sense of personal worth.

Our country is still in the past for we are of two minds, our souls are gripped with torturous doubts, our heart is drawn toward the shore but our habits are still out there in the cold, troubled waters. We have not yet overcome our alienation from politics, power, property, initiative, creativity, or even elementary disciplined and conscientious labor. This may be the worst consequence of uniformism, which leveled the natural Russian landscape under an asphalt parade ground, suitable only for military drills and degrading propagandistic spectaculars.

The new period of our life should have a completely different atmosphere, an atmosphere free of the ingrained dogma of the neoreligious consciousness. I do not see any other path to harmony and social accord than ideological emancipation and a search for theoretical, political, spiritual, and psychological reference points that are adequate to the times and free of any kind of coercion. Only on this path will it be possible to create conditions for the next reformist base for the development of the society.

This is a radical, fundamental question of our movement as well. It is extremely necessary to work precisely on the basis of this principle, for the influence on our lives of the initial deformations of political and economic thinking from the middle of the 19th century, as I have said, continues. But not a single one of the decisions we have adopted for changing economic relations is being carried through to the end, down to the details and fine points which make it possible to change anything in actual reality. The executive mechanism remain on the sidelines. But at the same time one must say that even the boldest reformist decisions, with the existing structures, are left hanging in air.

And this is why I am resolutely adhering to a course toward strengthening the new democratic executive power. Without this we will not overcome the—to put it mildly—unique state line which deprives entrepreneurs, lessees, cooperators, farmers, and foreign investors of stable prospects and forces them to live for the moment, without planning for the future, or, the main thing, without investing the necessary funds in it. Unless they become a mass, a social segment, a social factor, these elements will only compromise the new production relations, to the great joy of the patriots of the administrative command economy.

It is time to put an end to the academic and meaningless disputes about the temple we intend to build. We have had enough delusions and chimeras! We must find the energy to pull ourselves out of the quagmire refeudalization toward normal human relations and healthy politics.

First of all let us honestly admit to ourselves: The victory of democracy over the putschists won during those tragic August days is far from final. The stage opened up by the putsch and its defeat has brought many changes into our political life. It has opened up the possibility for radical changes on such a scale and at such rates that they will sever our ties with the totalitarian past. But at the same time it has created a qualitatively new sociopolitical situation and drawn new lines of political watersheds which still do not crowd out the past or replace it but augment it, making the total picture more complicated.

The August putsch was a rebellion by those who stand to lose first, who are losing their former dominance, who must step aside. They are the reactionary party apparatus and its swarm of servants. These are the old structures of the old Union, the one where the center was the main reason for its existence and its only ruler and its overseer. They are that part of the military-industrial complex that was reared, emerged, and grew strong on the arms race and military-political competition that lasted almost a half century. In other words, that fatal tumor of Stalinism had extensive metastases.

The democratic system cannot exist solely on wishes, aspirations, views, or even convictions. Democracy will remain an empty dream, an empty sound, if it does not acquire an economic foundation and its own political and social institutions. We must not stumble and we must not swallow the bait of those who would like to palm off on democracy the idea of revenge or the temptation of having their own dictatorship. If we do, there will inevitably be another round of restriction of freedom and perhaps even violence. We do not need a democracy of revenge, a democracy of exposure, but a democracy of creativity and government. And we must begin right away. With the establishment of economic freedom. With the introduction of this freedom into the framework of civilized law and not more administration for its own sake. With social protection of people. With a struggle for stability and security of the social structure. With the construction of political pluralism and democratic institutions of power.

And another thing. There can be no democracy without glasnost, without a real right and opportunity for free speech. To protect glasnost today means to protect the press. Not only the right of each individual to express his own position but also the right of a free press to exist. It is now perishing, falling into the trap prepared for it by the previous powers. The exorbitant prices for paper, printing, and distribution under the conditions of a 100 percent monopoly by the state on all these goods and services have meant one thing: the desire to suffocate glasnost and at the same time to artificially nourish and keep afloat the press that has been faithful to the interests of the ruling clans. We must gain a very good idea both of the sources of this situation and of where it is leading. Otherwise democracy will end up blind, deaf, and dumb, and this will happen quickly. People deprived of information and movement of social thought are an ideal object for manipulation.

And so in this critical transition situation only an organized, strong, and respected democratic movement is capable of resisting any attempts on the part of the dictatorship and the new bureaucracy to form a new closed administrative elite. In these circumstances no efforts that contribute to the establishment of a reliable democratic and humanistic consciousness and political culture will be excessive.

But we must make things very clear for ourselves. We must be aware that today we are passing through the stage when the long-term foundations of democracy are just being laid. It is necessary to unite all democrats.

This is why, in my opinion, today's conditions are met to the greatest degree by the Democratic Reform Movement. Its goals:

—radical reforms for the sake of freedom and democracy;

—resolute resistance to the forces of reaction;

—education directed toward the development of a stable democratic culture;

—assistance to youth who manifest a readiness to take up the baton of democracy but do a better job of building it than we did;

—the creation of a kind of democratic community on the broad space of the former Union.

The movement is not another superpower. It is not another one-party system. It is not another one-track consciousness imposed from above. It is precisely a confederation of the most diverse forces and movements, parties, and associations.

And the main thing. The country is in a state of chaos. I would consider it very important for the organizational period of the movement to be combined with concrete actions directed toward concrete issues related to supporting human life. We are excellent at criticism. The psychology of destruction still lives in us just as intolerance does.

Now we should learn to work, build, govern, and live by the truth and master the art of mutual respect and personal dignity, humanity and freedom.

### PRAVDA Call for Unity of Left-Wing Forces

*PM0410154791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Oct 91 Single Edition p 2*

[A. Ilin "View from Editorial Office" on "Statement by Action Group to Rally Russia's Socialist-Oriented Left-Wing Forces"]

[Text] PRAVDA has repeatedly addressed the subject of the suspension of the CPSU's activity and presented various viewpoints. Let us remind you that, even before the CPSU Central Committee July plenum, Boris Oleynik wrote in our newspaper that essentially two parties had long been "coexisting" under one roof. One was the top of the apparatus structure, which had appropriated to itself the right to pontificate in the party's name but was essentially divorced from millions of Communists. And the other was the real party, which consisted of these very communists who do their thing honestly and conscientiously.

The tragedy today is that, to use B. Oleynik's words, "these upper echelons have once again placed the twice shot-up party (shot up once in 1937 and once during the Great Patriotic War years) in a third line of fire, this time moral fire." Unfortunately, there are many people who gloat over this, forgetting that they do not have the moral right to pass an ad hoc sentence on millions of innocent party members.

Yes—and the authors of the statement are right here—the CPSU's former political structure had lost confidence and has in fact ceased to exist. But there always were and still are progressive and truly democratic forces in it, and they must not and cannot remain outside political activity. And a ban cannot be imposed on the ideas which always brought real Communists into the party. Precisely this has dictated the initiatives to unite left-wing, democratic forces, which the group of scientists ("Ideas Cannot Be Banned," PRAVDA 13 September 1991) and other authors have addressed to like-minded people. The published statement is a reflection of the same trend expressing the thoughts and feelings both of communists and of other democratically-minded citizens who share the ideas of the draft new program "Socialism, Democracy, Progress" (PRAVDA 8 August 1991).

Genuine democracy is impossible without political pluralism. This is taught both by the tragic lessons of our history and by those phenomena that are manifesting themselves now. And it is from this premise that those who value the ideas of social progress and the interests of working people proceed.

### Correspondents' Role as KGB Staffers Denied

*PM0310153991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 91 Single Edition p 4*

[Unattributed "Rejoinder": "Got the Wrong Guy"]

[Text] The 29 September issue of the newspaper MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI carried M. Kryuchkov's report "Job-Sharing Journalists" under the rubric "Notes on Journalists in Uniform." The item dealt with the problems encountered by KGB staffers working abroad as correspondents of the Soviet mass media.

The material is illustrated with a collage showing the badge of honored state security staffers standing out vividly against a background of several central newspapers. One of PRAVDA's September issues is among them. In view of the fact that not a single one of the newspaper PRAVDA's own correspondents abroad is a KGB staffer, the editorial office considers the method of presentation of the aforementioned material to be, putting it mildly, improper, unethical, and biased in the word's literal sense.

### New Department To Search for Missing Soviets

*PM0410105891 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Oct 91 Union Edition p 1*

[Report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, RIA column]

[Text] Vadim Bakatin [KGB chief] has signed an order setting up a special department within the USSR KGB First Main Directorate to search for, rescue, and bring home prisoners of war, hostages, and Soviet experts who have gone missing in the course of combat operations in Afghanistan and other regions.

### Primakov Gives News Conference on Intelligence

*92US0036A Moscow TRUD in Russian 4 Oct 91 p 3*

[Report by N. Shvetsov on news conference given by Ye.M. Primakov, chief of Soviet foreign intelligence, at

USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Center; date not given: "Ye.M. Primakov: Intelligence Is Not Surveillance From Behind the Corner"]

[Text] A news conference given by the new chief of foreign intelligence Ye.M. Primakov generated considerable interest among both domestic and foreign journalists. The auditorium in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Center was filled practically to capacity. It was not only merely the fact that it was the first appearance before the press by the new chief of the intelligence agency, appointed just the day before. It was also important that this position went to a man who is a scientist. Therefore, quite naturally, the journalists' first question was why an academician decided to become the head of intelligence. To this, Yevgeniy Maksimovich said that today's intelligence should not be seen as people in gray raincoats surveilling their opponents from behind the corner. He considers his entry into the field of intelligence a result of the necessity to build its work on a more solid scientific and intellectual basis, and to make it more creative.

In answer to a TRUD correspondent's question, Yevgeniy Maksimovich said that since assuming his new post he is going to cease all political activities; nevertheless, he is not renouncing scientific ones—he intends to publish regularly. This, in principle, goes along with his desire to make intelligence more open in those areas where it is possible. The activities of intelligence organs, in his opinion, should correspond to the principle of glasnost. In this connection, he pointed out as a positive example the U.S. intelligence services, which distribute their analytical materials all around the world.

Both in his brief introductory statement and in his answers to the questions, Yevgeniy Maksimovich underlines more than once that the reorganization of the intelligence services is an extremely difficult process, in the course of which it is advisable to avoid hasty decisions. In this respect, he agreed with the words of his predecessor, General L.V. Shebarshin, who in an interview to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA warned against spurts in the reorganization of intelligence. Ye.M. Primakov remarked that he intends to meet with Shebarshin and consult with him. It is possible that in the course of such meetings a decision will be made in regard to further using the general's services in the intelligence organs.

It is interesting that the new head of intelligence—a strictly civilian person—does not intend to turn into a military man; he will not be accorded a military rank. At the same time, having assumed his new position, Primakov is suspending his membership in the party. He himself has never worked in intelligence before; nevertheless, he does not consider himself a novice among intelligence officers since he encountered them during his stays abroad and is familiar to a certain degree with their activities.

He learned of his appointment only three days before assuming the new position, which he accepted with satisfaction. He sees intelligence as an important field of activity which to a large degree reflects the serious changes taking place both in world politics and inside our country, in particular those related to the emergence of new sovereign states. The apparent haste in making his decision is partly explainable by the necessity of either reducing to a minimum or eliminating entirely the transition period in reorganizing the intelligence organs.

Yevgeniy Maksimovich believes that the republics have the right to conduct intelligence activities independently, their own way. He advocates, however, close coordination in the work of their intelligence organs. At the same time, the head of Soviet foreign intelligence stated that its activities may be extended into the former republics, which have now become independent states, if they represent a threat to the security of our country.

He emphasized that intelligence will not conduct any espionage of, surveillance of, or listening to the conversations of Soviet citizens abroad. It will strive to provide objective information in order to avoid any disinformation. In this connection, expressing his own opinion, Primakov said that he does not consider using a journalistic "cover" for intelligence officers justified. At the same time, the head of intelligence is convinced that its operations are not possible without some cover. This is the way the intelligence organs of any country conduct their work.

Ye.M. Primakov also said that the main bulk of personnel working in the intelligence organs are people who are very well trained and are completely devoted to their vocation. Therefore, it is necessary to give thought to the preservation and accumulation of the intelligence organs' intellectual potential; at the same time, it should be kept in mind that intelligence is a part of society, and its work is affected by processes taking place in that society. Intelligence needs renewal in the personnel area, first and foremost through bringing in young staff members. Representatives of the Union republics will be actively encouraged to work in the central intelligence organs.

Speaking about the budget of our intelligence, Yevgeniy Maksimovich remarked that it is several orders below the financial resources of the CIA. In mentioning American special services, he pointed out, among other things, the potential for cooperation with them—for instance, in such an area as combating international terrorism and the drug mafia. At the same time, he believes that foreign powers do not intend to cause the disintegration of the USSR; more likely, they are interested in preserving our country as a single democratic state.

In conclusion, the new head of Soviet foreign intelligence said that he is ready to undertake, as before, important missions abroad as a representative of the Soviet leadership. This could help to give our intelligence a new image.

## Arrests Sought in State of Emergency Case

*LD0810231691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2117 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The number of those arrested in the State Committee for the State of Emergency case may soon increase. According to information from sources close to Russian General Procurator Stepankov, he, for example, intends to get from legislators permission to arrest a number of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic deputies, including CPSU Central Committee Secretary Manayenkov. Meanwhile, the investigating team is growing, as well. There are almost 10 investigators for each arrested person.

## Fourth in a Series, Secret CPSU Documents

*PM0810154091 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Oct 91 p 2*

[Fourth article in series by commentator Pavel Voshchanov, press secretary to the Russian president: "Land of Commandments: CPSU Short Course in Top-Secret Documents"]

[Text] The CPSU is a party without ideals. But that is only half the trouble. The real misfortune was something else—that for more than 70 years the country was ruled by a party without morality. And, therefore, the result is only natural: The Communist Party found itself beyond the pale, in the realm of spiritual poverty where relatively civilized politics ends and the political void begins.

### 4. The Party Apparatus Runs Wild

One of the chief topics is the CPSU's involvement in the August coup. For three days the leadership of the ruling party kept silent. It did not show its hand, neither as an open participant in events, nor—still less—as a selfless fighter against the impending dictatorship. Was this not because the impending dictatorship was not just any dictatorship, but specifically a communist one? Be that as it may, it was not until noon on 22 August that Deputy General Secretary V. Ivashko plucked up the nerve for an act of civic courage, and issued a resolution placing full responsibility for what had happened on certain Central Committee members who (quite understandably!) had acted "in secret from the party leadership."

"In secret from the party leadership..." Is V. Ivashko being disingenuous? For three successive days—19, 20, and 21 August—the CPSU Central Committee and Ivashko personally were receiving coded telegrams from the top leaders of regional party organizations. Nearly all said the same thing: "We support the imposition of a state of emergency in the country!"

I have in front of me coded telegram No. 689/Sh. Like all the others, it is marked with the stern reminder: "Secret. Copying prohibited."

"The secretariat of the Udmurt republic committee of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party expresses full support for the initial steps of the USSR State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE]. At the same time we are seriously concerned about the lack of a system for constant monitoring of the fulfillment of USSR SCSE resolutions in the localities. We propose that a control organ be set up under the USSR SCSE, with representation in the republics, krays, and oblasts. For our part, we are prepared to assist it in its work."

The text of the coded telegram is, in itself, typical of the Central Committee's mail during those days. But all the same, I have not cited this one by chance—attached to it there was a short memorandum, whose content is very curious: "Baklanov's office called. Please pass to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. But delay publication. They will let us know." Who signed this? I was unable to discover the authorship. But its place of "birth" is known—Manayenkov's secretariat. So does not all this prove that the leadership of the SCSE and the CPSU Central Committee were hand in glove during the putsch? Even the mail was shared between these organs during those days! For instance, a coded telegram from Izhevsk (just like all the others with similar content—all, without exception!) was sent to "the following comrades" (I will take the trouble to enumerate them all, because this list also tells us something). Ivashko, Gidaspov, Girenko, Dzasokhov, Kalashnikov, Kuptsov, Luchinskiy, Manayenkov, Melnikov, Semenova, Stroyev, Falin, Shenin, Yanayev, Baklanov, Kryuchkov, Pavlov, Pugo, Starodubtsev, Tizyakov, Yazov.

Can we seriously believe Ivashko's assurances that the putsch involved only "a few CPSU members," and moreover "in secret from the party leadership"? Ridiculous! How can you say a "few," how can you say "in secret"? Even the current mail file of the deputy general secretary was swelled each day by several dozen telegrams like this: "19 August, 1700. We approve the actions of the SCSE. We propose that the Central Committee support the committee's initiatives. [Signed] Secretaries of party organizations, Tevrizskiy Rayon, Omsk Oblast." The sincerity of communist leaders has always been questionable, and all the more so in this situation, since their main aim is to safeguard the future of their own political system. The very same system that for long years has given them a prosperous life such as no one else in this country had or, I think, is likely to have in the near future. Hence the desire to shift the blame from the entire party leadership to individual members of it. The logic is not much better than criminal: We will hand over those who "robbed" the till, but keep quiet about those who planned and organized the raid.

Prior to 19 August it would not have occurred to anyone that Starodubtsev and Tizyakov would, in the name of the Soviet leadership, control the fate of a country of many millions of people. Everything that happened smacked of provincial theater: A wandering actor who is in debt to half the town tries with all his might to

convince the audience that he is a grand prince! How did the zealous champion of the kolkhoz and sovkhoz system and the leader of a little-known association uniting mainly enterprises in the military-industrial complex come to be in with this crew? Not by chance, of course. And again, not without the party's recommendation. Basically they had long been on the party's reserve list for nomination to the top state leadership which was to come to power in the post-perestroyka period.

Is this fact, for instance, a coincidence: A good many industrial and commercial associations had sprung up in the country, but a Central Committee Secretariat resolution had been adopted on only one of them—Tizyakov's. Furthermore the resolution instructed all party organs to "use the highly skilled cadre potential of the association in practical activity to implement the party's socioeconomic policy and strengthen the party's influence in the labor collectives." Starodubtsev also had an equally touching relationship with the top CPSU leadership. But there is no such thing as a selfless bureaucracy. The party bureaucracy is no exception. And so the principle that operated was: They are protecting you—so pay them back! And Starodubtsev paid... In September of last year the Central Committee adopted a private resolution "On Reducing CPSU Expenditure and on Recommendations to Party Committees on Forming the Budget Under the New Conditions." A secret appendix to it said: "Note should be taken of the proposal by certain rural party organizations to combine the work of kolkhoz (sovkhoz) party committee secretary with the post of deputy chairman (director) with a corresponding additional payment from the party budget." Who contributed this idea to the draft party document? Starodubtsev. He not only contributed it, he enlisted the support of his colleagues—directors and chairmen belonging to the association of feudal landowners set up by the efforts of Ligachev and Starodubtsev and laughably called the "peasants" union.

How confused everything was in our distorted political life! The zealous hysteric Zhirinovskiy, "savior" of the empire, denouncer of communism, who exhumed the terrible Russian plague of black-hundred democratism—he it is who turns out to be the sole leader of the sole political party which supported the putschists in their desire to restore the communist dictatorship. What is this—ideological kinship between the LDP [Liberal Democratic Party] and the once ruling party, or a chance coincidence of interests? It went even further after the putsch—a close colleague of Zhirinovskiy became the co-owner of one of the most obnoxious communist newspapers.

Some time ago KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA published an interview with the former candidate for the post of vice president from the LDP. Answering a question about financial support from the CPSU, he stated: "We have not received a single ruble from the CPSU." Allow me to doubt this, because I have seen a document which testifies to the reverse. Let me cite just a few extracts from it:

"The RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee Administration of Affairs, acting on the basis of the Instruction on Production and Financial and Economic Activity in the person of Central Committee Administrator of Affairs Comrade Igor Mikhaylovich Golovkov, hereinafter called the 'Administration,' on the one hand, and the firm 'Zavidiya,' acting on the basis of its statutes in the person of Comrade Andrey Fedorovich Zavidiya, president of the firm, hereinafter called the 'Firm,' on the other hand, have concluded a contract to the following effect: The 'Administration' is to make available to the 'Firm' temporarily free funds (interest-free credit) until 31 December 1991, in the sum of 3 (three) million rubles..."

The contract is sealed with the personal signature and firm's stamp of the future co-owner of the Russian Communists' newspaper. Incidentally, it was signed in April 1991, on the eve of the Russian presidential elections...

It is often said that all our troubles stem from the party functionaries, the party apparatus. I think their significance is somewhat exaggerated, because the tragedy of our society is linked to no less an extent with intellectuals who are prepared to serve any idea and any leader... Let me introduce one of them—S. Kurginyan, leader of the Experimental Creative Center, which was originally set up not without the party's help and participation.

If you look at the log of incoming correspondence of the CPSU Central Committee or the Russian Communist Party, you can see that the top party leadership regularly received and carefully studied materials signed by Kurginyan. You can pick out his toothless splutterings from among a thousand others. Even before you reach the signature on the last page, you can tell—it's Kurginyan! A fantastic brew of common sense, pseudoscience, and political paranoia spilling over from one set of "recommendations" to the next.

"According to our calculations, 'H-hour,' set for the start of the uprising in Moscow and the violent political coup in a number of regions simultaneously, falls between 16 and 26 February 1990. The frantically accelerating pace of events makes an even earlier date probable.

"...In that event, with the help of a package of comprehensive and well-planned actions, the 'anti-mafia card' should be played politically, accompanied by a series of political, economic, and legal actions, without fail in the context of the imposition (for real, this time!) of a special situation [osoboye polozheniye] in the country for a term of a minimum of four months and a maximum of six."

The party leadership's reaction is interesting. For instance, there is a memorandum by I. Polozkov on the materials quoted: "To Comrades I.I. Antonovich and G.A. Zyuganov. Study without fail the prediction by Comrade S. Kurginyan's creative center," and on the first page the following is underlined in red pencil—

"...our predictions of events (including the most unexpected events) have hitherto coincided with actual developments with a fairly high degree of accuracy."

The deputy general secretary's apparatus also studied the works of Kurginyan and his center. They not only studied them, but also briefed their comrades in the struggle on them... One item, modestly and simply entitled "In the CPSU Central Committee," was kept in the file marked "Kurginyan" for more than a year. No one mentioned it for more than a year, but then in June (for any particular reason?) they took a copy of it and sent it to Vice President Yenayev "for familiarization." How was it of interest to the future SCSE figure? There are nine pages of routine political ravings, but one page is worth quoting (though of necessity in abridged form):

"I consider the following to be essential components of the package of proposed measures: ...Ensure full readiness for the imposition of a presidential form of rule and the declaration of a state of emergency in the country, with restrictions on a number of constitutional rights and freedoms... Adopt popular decisions on changing the situation in the country, legitimizing in the public consciousness the introduction of presidential rule... Adopt a decree on genocide, refugees, and the struggle against terrorism, as a single package... Conduct a purge in the party, which must begin with an emergency session of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee on the so-called 'tank affair'... Close Moscow, according to the 'Olympics scenario,' and use the law enforcement organs to purge Moscow of criminal elements... Balance the general ideological tone in the mass media and adjust the tone of key television programs broadcast on the central channel... If necessary these considerations could be expounded in more detail."

There is no direct evidence that Kurginyan and his center specifically prepared the scenario for the August putsch; not yet. But the fact that their works formed the basis of this scenario and were "expounded in more detail" there is beyond doubt... But ultimately, Kurginyan is beside the point. I would not be surprised if tomorrow he is offering his "predictions and recommendations" to the new authorities. The point is the spiritual poverty of a communist party apparatus run wild, grasping, in its terror, at even a rotten straw like this...

**5. And Wisdom To Distinguish One From the Other...**

All the same: What I have said about the CPSU should not be directly associated with everyone who had anything to do with that organization.

Today rank-and-file CPSU members are often threatened with the reprisals that supposedly await them. The motive is clear: once again to bamboozle people and win them over to your own side. In broad terms, the CPSU as a political organization no longer exists. The party marshals are left without troops. And the worst thing for them is that they left the party at the very moment when it appeared that a communist renaissance was beginning in the country!

...On 19 August, a few hours after the start of the putsch, M. Krasnoslobodtsev, secretary of one of the party organizations of the USSR KGB Investigations Directorate, sent a statement to the CPSU Central Committee and the KGB party committee: "Not wishing to be a hostage to the irresponsible, unlawful activity of political intriguers and conspirators, I declare that I am leaving the CPSU."

I have not met this man. I found his statement, with his party card attached to it, after the putsch in the sealed Central Committee building, with the memorandum: "Investigate and report." Had the putschists won, they would have investigated with the "full rigor" of the state of emergency...

Alas, we have forgotten how to simply live and enjoy life. But we have learned to fight. The conservatives are fighting the reformers. The supporters of the market and private property are fighting their opponents. The pseudodemocrats are fighting the real democrats. The communists are fighting everyone, because they have learned well Lenin's saying "He who is not with us, is against us." We are wallowing in waves of spite and intolerance. As I write these final lines, something I once read, which stuck in my mind, is running through my head:

"O God, give me reason and serenity

To accept what I cannot change,

Courage to change what I can,

And wisdom to distinguish the one from the other."

## Government Approves Draft Agreement on Food

*OW0910134191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1200 GMT 9 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy (COMNE) approved on Wednesday [9 October] a draft inter-republican agreement on food supplies in 1992. The document will be considered by the State Council on Friday [11 October].

Under it, an inter-republican food fund will be set up to ensure the tax-free flow of food between the signatory republics in the interests of consumers throughout the country. A republic failing to supply the agreed amount of food will have to compensate for the losses at world prices in hard currency.

Azerbaijani and Ukranian representatives have not yet signed the draft agreement. The Ukraine insists on signing a treaty of economic union first. The proposal will be discussed by a State Council session.

COMNE member Gennadiy Kulik, who was in charge of the agreement's drafting, said that the main objective would be to supply the people with food at the 1990 level

at least, which would require the purchase from foreign nations of 10.4 billion rubles' worth of food, including 49 million tons [as received] of grain, 2.2 million tons of meat, and 9.5 million tons of milk. At present, the Soviet Union's grain reserves are at the lowest mark over the past 50 years, amounting to no more than 34 million tons. In 16 regions of Russia bread is distributed by coupons and the daily per capita norm does not exceed 300 grams in some places, Mr. Kulik said.

### Sobchak Comments on Tajikistan Trip Results

*LD0810180391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1600 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[By TASS correspondent Galina Vinitskaya]

[Text] Moscow, 8 Oct—The signing by the conflicting sides of an agreement on some measures to further democratize the republic's public and political life, and the ending of the continuous rally and hunger strike in the main square of Dushanbe, which started on 23 September - such, in the view of Anatoliy Sobchak, are the results of the visit to Tajikistan by members of the Political Consultative Council under the USSR president.

Speaking today at a news conference in the USSR Foreign Ministry press center, Anatoliy Sobchak recalled that throughout the past month, the political situation in Tajikistan has worsened and reached the point of open confrontation. Due to this situation, which could lead to loss of life, he flew to Tajikistan together with Yevgeniy Velikhov and a group of experts on the instructions of the USSR president.

"Our task was not to gratify imperial ambitions of any kind, but to try and help set up a dialogue between the republic's leadership and the opposition, to seat the conflicting forces around the negotiating table," Sobchak stressed. He thinks that what has been achieved is only "the first very fragile step rather than some major victory." The situation in the republic has not altered fundamentally, the causes of tension remain, and the further development of events depends on how the agreement is carried out. Sobchak believes that one should not simplify the situation as some mass media are doing. Journalists, in particular, are asserting that there are only two variants for development in Tajikistan—"either a return of the Communist orders or the establishment of an Islamic state." He does not agree with these assertions and thinks that in the event of a referendum being held, for example, the majority of inhabitants would speak out against the Islamization of the republic.

Anatoliy Sobchak is convinced that in the Central Asian republics, including Tajikistan, there is a third path of development, perhaps the most likely one and the only promising one. This is a combination of Islam, of religion, of democratic principles, and the Communist structures of the administrative- command system—nomenklatura structures rather than communist ones in their convictions.

This type of combination, Sobchak thinks, could create the equilibrium that will allow the republic to traverse the path of protracted, gradual democratization. "Attempts to transfer, let's say, ideas about democracy from Moscow, St. Petersburg, or moreover Western models of democracy, are doomed to failure," Anatoliy Sobchak stressed. He expressed the hope that common sense will prevail and that the right decisions will be made in the republic.

### Entrepreneurship Council Urges Legal Changes

*OW0810210891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2030 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to Lev Weinberg, deputy head of the Entrepreneurship Council attached to the USSR President, one of these days the council will urge Mikhail Gorbachev to rescind his decree allowing KGB and Interior Ministry servicemen to enter the offices of commercial organizations without the procurator's permission, and to cancel or substantially reduce the 40-percent tax imposed on the hard-currency proceeds from exports.

Mr. Weinberg said his council would insist on scrapping the penal code articles identifying entrepreneurship as a criminal practice, and on pardoning the economic managers convicted under these articles. According to L. Weinberg, nearly 150 people have been sent to jail on charges of this kind during the past two years.

The deputy head of the Entrepreneurship Council said President Gorbachev had sent him a telephone message urging more resolute action to cancel "acts hampering entrepreneurship". L. Weinberg said the presidential instructions would be fulfilled in spite of the fact that the Entrepreneurship Council was still in a state of formation.

Although his council could not go beyond recommendations, Mr. Weinberg went on to say, its leaders "could pull a lever or two to make the authorities pay heed to these recommendations." The council, he noted, involved businessmen representing nearly 3,000 banks, 2,000 exchanges, 4,000 joint ventures, and 11,000 leaseholding firms employing a total of 15 million workers.

### Changes to Constitution Guided by 'Expediency'

*PM0910101991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Oct 91 Single Edition p 1,2*

[Article by Aleksandr Ilin: "Remember Your Oath Occasionally, Presidents! Unfestive Reflections on USSR Constitution Day"]

[Text] Could U.S. President G. Bush institute Soviet power in California or Texas? Overnight could he up and abolish all the previous power structures of the states and establish in their place or at least alongside them a Soviet of People's Deputies—plenipotentiary representatives of Californian or Texan citizens?

"What rubbish is this?" The reader will object indignantly, suspecting the author of inappropriate mischievousness at the very least. "Who would allow even the most respected of the presidents over there to do anything at all that goes against the constitution? For even the very thought of this, were it uttered aloud, would entail his immediate resignation and he would go down in history as the violator of the state's holy of holies and of its constitutional foundations who was therefore driven from his post in disgrace..."

But here in our fatherland experimentation with the Constitution is by and large a matter of course. Guided solely by "expediency," which is interpreted by the powers that be as they see fit, it was possible to carry out any right-on revolutionary transformation or organize any perestroyka. During our postrevolutionary history this custom became firmly entrenched (Czarist Russia had never taken the pains to produce its own constitution)—now you will not be able to track down the person who first initiated this merry-go-round involving power structures of various kinds.

Take those soviets, for example—just what metamorphoses, both large-scale and imperceptible, have they not undergone. It seems that all the power in the state belonged to them, and constitutions right up to the most recent one put it on record that they constitute the political basis of our system. But this "basis" was ordered about by party committees, the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission [VChK], and the Unified State Political Directorate [OGPU], and ministries held almighty sway over them. How many decisions and resolutions were adopted on extending soviets' rights, but the following question seemingly never occurred to those making the resolutions: Who may restrict or extend the powers of a constitutionally defined and fully sovereign organ? Or even abolish one completely, as was done in Nagorno-Karabakh, where the soviets' functions were transferred to the Special Administration Committee and have still not been restored up to now.

I recall at the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies how Aleksandr Mitrofanovich Obolenskiy, having thrown down an impudent and, as it seemed at the time, crazy challenge to the leader of perestroyka in the battle for post of head of state, very cleverly and cogently stood up for respecting the country's Constitution. It should be forbidden, the deputy insisted, to change the fundamental law without having special reasons for doing so, or to treat it as a mere office instruction. And if certain changes do become ripe for adoption, only the people in their entirety would be entitled to enact them on the basis of a general referendum. It may have been due to the fact that he nominated himself as a candidate for the supreme state office—it was decided that Obolenskiy should not even be included on the list for the secret ballot—but he seemed inconsequential at the time and nobody took his opinions about respecting the Constitution seriously.

And it all seems to have been in vain. As a result, the process of revising our fundamental law has accelerated ever since. And with incredible twists and turns. The post of the president of the country was soon instituted, and along with this came the Presidential Council. Shortly afterwards the USSR Council of Ministers was transformed into the Cabinet of Ministers, the Presidential Council was abolished, and instead the Security Council appeared. Consultative councils of various sorts were born and then died, as did institutions of advisers, and so on and so forth.

Meanwhile things in the country got worse and worse, and not least because of the "war of laws"—but how could it have been otherwise if nobody would accept the fundamental law, except as a worthless bit of paper? Officials were shuffled from one post to another, and while getting the feel of their new job they had no time to come to an occasional understanding of what their range of duties really involved. They only had time to draw their salary...

At local level too—in the cities and in the villages—new power structures were and still are being established by decree or directive-resolution, more and more administrators are springing up. [For this to happen] someone merely has to imagine—or at least mention the fact—that the former organs of power are incapable of proper administration.

It is now no longer possible to keep a tally of the presidents who have been elected in the former Union, nor how many will spring up in the near future. And on top of this there are mayors and vice mayors, heads of city administrations and governments, presidential representatives at local level, prefects, and chairmen of city dumas and assemblies. It turns out that one minute the representative power needs to be strengthened, the executive power the next minute, and then something else. It turns out, however, that the soviets, in which a fierce battle recently raged for every seat, are quite unnecessary and only get in the way. The voter is confused: Where must he turn for his needs—in terms of housing, the functioning of transportation and other urban and rural services, and other day-to-day problems?

And what of the Constitution? As the great Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy would have said, it was forgotten. All the indications are that today's nonworking day, which was established in honor of the adoption of the 1977 Constitution, will be the last. Whether there will be another fundamental law is still very much open to question. It was to have been based on the Union Treaty drawn up at Novo-Ogarevo, but this foundation—at the instigation of the putschists—was completely destroyed in a matter of days. An economic agreement between

sovereign republics has been initialed (a strange sort of word!), but this too is already open to doubt. The conclusion of a political union is even more problematic.

No, I am not against changes that are ripe for introduction provided the are indeed essential. Nor am I against revising constitutions if they cannot keep pace with life. But in this situation one should operate by constitutional methods, with due respect for the fundamental law.

Our present Constitution, which was named the "Brezhnev" constitution by the toadies, is now cursed a thousandfold as Brezhnev's (not without reason) and run down (but this serves no purpose). Along with the Constitution—and this is studiously not taken into account—the citizen too is cursed and humiliated, and his rights, which in former times were merely trumpeted aloud, are now disregarded altogether. Neither the right to work nor the right to housing has withstood the pressure of sweeping lawmaking. Nor can my tongue bring itself to speak of the right to life, about which so many toasts and high-sounding words have been uttered—reports of more and more casualties arrive daily from the hot spots, as if from the front line of an undeclared war. Where on earth are you, presidents, who took an oath on the constitutions, the sworn guarantors of compliance with basic human rights? Remember sometimes what this obliges you to do!

We have a difficult and in many ways tragic past, and a joyless and worrying present; what does the future hold? Will we ever learn to respect ourselves and be concerned about what sort of country we will hand over to our children and grandchildren? Will we have the courage to establish and adopt a constitution that is free from opportunism and political intrigue, that has the capacity to become the fundamental law for a free and happy life?

I would like to think so. Hope is the last thing to die. And if, rather than dying, it finally comes true, it would be even better.

### Poll Surveys Opinions on Center, CPSU

*OW0910105291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0719 GMT 9 Oct 91*

["Viewpoint"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text]

#### HAS THE UNION CENTER CHANGED ITS NAME?

According to the "Data" news agency, an opinion poll taken by the National Public Opinion Studies Center in September among 2,075 respondents throughout the country showed that 35% think the Union center is gone. Also 35% believe it still exists but under another name. The rest found it difficult to answer.

Margin of error—3%.

#### WHAT WILL BE THE FATE OF THE CPSU?

In the same poll the respondents were asked what, in their opinion, would be the future of the CPSU like?

31% would welcome the transformation of the CPSU into an ordinary parliamentary party.

30% favor its dissolution.

14% suggest that the CPSU should be deprived of its former rights.

10% want these rights to be restored.

15% did not answer.

## Economic

### Status of Fuel, Power Sector Assessed

*PM0210111591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Sep 91 Moscow Evening Edition p 1*

[Article by V. Romanyuk: "Fuel and Energy Complex Facing Trial by Frost"]

[Text] According to specialists' forecasts, average temperatures in January-February may be 3-4 degrees lower than usual. This is an enormous difference if you consider that a fall in temperature of 1 degree means an additional daily expenditure of 100 million tonnes of ideal fuel. Do we, on the verge of winter, have that fuel?

This question was examined 20 September 1991 by the country's committee for the operational management of the national economy. The reports of R. Margulov, deputy chairman of the fuel and energy complex commission, and I. Gavrilov, deputy chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, showed that a very alarming situation is developing.

Oil-extracing capacities of 110 million tonnes are being lost in the oil industry this year, and at the same time the drilling of new wells has fallen by 10-12 percent. The receipt of oil for refining has fallen by almost one-third and the depth of refining is only 63 percent (against a world level of 85-90 percent). We have already written a number of times about the reduction of coking coal production. The new factor is that now we are being let down by gas workers, too, who have reduced their production for the first time by 30-35 billion cubic meters a year. We are receiving a meager addition through the commissioning of new energy capacities—just 5 million kilowatts—in addition to which the commissioning of capacities at many nuclear power stations has been frozen by public demand. But even the existing capacities cannot provide the expected output. According to the statistics, on 18 September coal stocks at electric power stations were 5 million tonnes lower than by the same date last year and stocks of fuel oil were 1.8 million tonnes down. This fuel shortage could mean a loss of 15-20 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity.

What measures are being proposed in this situation? I cannot say that the discussion was intense. In the main, emphasis was placed on the traditional methods, directives, and instructions. It is planned to curb the "appetite" of energy-intensive production units and industrial facilities in general by 10-15 percent (with compensation to workers for enforced idleness). Representatives of the republics belonging to the committee confirmed the need—the urgent need, furthermore—to form a single economic space. We can only survive the stern winter without disasters if we do so together. There were no objections to the proposal to invest the fuel and energy complex commission with broad powers to resolve questions of transferring energy sources between republics depending on weather conditions, and introducing reduced energy-supply regimes.

Less convincing, however, were the fuel and energy-saving proposals. It was merely noted that reserves are approximately one-third of the required figure. But where are they to come from? Science has not produced effective technologies and our lag in this sphere is increasing. It has emerged that such urgent questions as the priority supply of metals and materials to oilworkers and miners have still not been resolved. It is proposed that the structure of our export be assessed more rigorously: if high energy-consuming products, such as aluminum, appear in it, the supply of electricity to those areas of production should be completely disconnected. The demands of the defense complex must also be scaled down, something which has never been done before, and the export of fuel must be rigorously restricted—the newly approved 3-percent level is being breached.

Summarizing the discussion, I. Silayev proposed that special emphasis be placed on the use of local types of fuel—peat and firewood, that permission be granted for the use of unshipped timber, and that help be given in its transportation and processing. Equipment must be prepared for extreme situations.

## Continuing Decline of Consumer Goods Output

*PM0710134191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Oct 91 Union Edition p 1*

[Report by V. Romanyuk: "First Empty Windows, Now Empty Shelves"]

[Text] The meager selection in consumer goods stores eloquently attests to the state of the production of goods for the population. Rumors about scarce goods being hidden in the trade network are, regrettably, exaggerated. At the moment the USSR State Committee for Statistics only has available the "expected" indicators for the first nine months of the year. These expectations are not very upbeat. Many categories exhibit a steady decline in production:
by 10 percent for all kinds of textiles;
by 30 percent for linen textiles and pure wool;
by 21 percent for electric samovars;
by 35 percent for VCR's;
by 8 percent for sewing machines...

Some 5 percent fewer electric bulbs have been produced—that amounts to a drop of 20 million in our stores. Production of school exercise books has dropped by 11 percent (300 million items). Production of wooden pencils has halved. Production of Russian and Western-style cigarettes has dropped by 5 percent. In the past nine months smokers have received 9 billion fewer Russian and Western-style cigarettes than in the same period last year.

We still have our ordinary shortages too—from batteries and stainless steel razor blades to washing powder and toilet soap. What should consumers do? In this situation they prefer to create their own stockpiles! As a result we are facing shortages even where there should not be any. Take kitchen appliances for example—production of meat grinders, food processors, and mixers is up by 35, 47, and 22 percent respectively. But where are they?

## Assets Dwindling, 'We Are a Bankrupt Country'

*924A0031A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Oct 91 Union Edition p 2*

[Article by I. Demchenko: "Who Sold Our Gold and Why"]

[Text] **The statement made by G. Yavlinskiy Friday that the gold reserve of the Soviet Union amounts to a total of 240 tonnes of the precious metal was truly sensational. For comparison the gold reserve of the United States is several thousand tonnes. Knowing in advance that our country is experiencing continuing difficulties with currency deposits, the West expected that, on occasion, we could make payments in gold. This is indicated by many foreign sources, including commodity exchange information on which a recently published commentary in IZVESTIYA was based.**

In an interview with an IZVESTIYA correspondent, G. Yavlinskiy also reported that the situation is no better with regard to diamonds and various other resources that could constitute state assets. As a matter of fact, we are a bankrupt country that is borrowing from the whole world, perhaps without any hope of making repayment. The last large batch of Soviet gold, about 500 tonnes, was sold by the government of that very same Ryzhkov who with tears in his eyes demanded that the Council of Ministers be protected from suspicions of machinations. After this, the government of Pavlov came out with a small amount of gold (70-80 tonnes) several times, on average every one-and-a-half to two months. The cynical sale of the reserves of the Motherland were not conducted under the symbol of allowing the capitalization of the Soviet economy and of protecting the ideals of socialism, but, as a matter of fact, to cover personal inaction, inability, and a lack of desire to introduce the market mechanism. Both of the former premiers prolonged the agony of the totalitarian system at the expense of selling the wealth accumulated by generations of Soviet people.

Data revealing that the total means of our enormous and, as we always thought, rich state, available for payment guarantees are virtually comparable to the volume of the personal requirements of several individuals, was made public by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, with the permission of the USSR president, given a week earlier. Up until now, this and certain other information that characterizes the condition of the economy were deep secrets. Nevertheless, an information leak, apparently, still occurred. Otherwise, how do you explain, for example, that Latvia, declaring a readiness to assume responsibility for part of the USSR's foreign debt as far back as the beginning of summer, suddenly changed its position in September and presented a new version of the division of the "jointly acquired property": It does not claim the gold stock and the currency reserve, but it also does not bear responsibility for USSR debts. But, in any case, the official report on Soviet deposits was heard Friday [4 October] for the first time.

On that same day, G. Yavlinskiy also declassified the true condition of the Soviet economy while he was abroad, in London, where, as the personal representative of the USSR president on foreign economic questions, he met with J. Major, prime minister of Great Britain, regarding the USSR's joining the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Afterwards, in Bonn, he continued consultations on this matter on Sunday [6 October]. True, as "Vzglyad's" deputy anchor A. Lyubimov properly noted, it is not clear who precisely will be accepted into these prestigious international organizations, inasmuch as it is already clear that the Soviet Union is living its last days. Perhaps the central leadership changed too late.

As a matter of fact, the only way out for the ruined and robbed republics in the current situation is in association and in the signing of an economic union. Given the structure of our economy, and all of what was previously called an integrated national economic complex, it is impossible to regulate the work of industry, transport, and communications with the assistance only of bilateral intergovernmental agreements without a single coordinating center. But if you look truth in the eyes, there is not much hope for an understanding of this. It is easy to unite around a strong and rich center, but not around one that is bankrupt and weak. Therefore, it is most likely that the treaty on the economic union either will not be signed at all; or it will be signed by two to four former republics; or, while signed by a majority, it will not begin to be implemented. True, there is a hope in the Alma-Ata conference of leaders of the republics that opened the other day, but this really is the last chance.

The alternative to this treaty is the total dissolution of all economic ties, a paralysis of the economy, an erosion of the last resources, an all-encompassing shortage of all products, including life-sustaining products, foodstuffs, and the ascendance to power of totalitarian and, possibly, pro-fascist regimes. There are some signs which indicate that this gloomy forecast is very realistic. Chief among them are the orgy of nationalism that is openly encouraged by official authorities, the strengthening of national-communist regimes in a number of republics, and the extreme professional helplessness of many leading workers of the executive organs, which does not make it possible to rely on their ability to resolve questions in a civilized manner.

In addition, what draws attention to itself is the fact that the formation of statehood in the sovereign republics began with the creation of their own armed formations—the national guards. If you think about it, from whom will the thousands of guardsmen protect the popularly elected presidents? From the center created by the republics themselves? From their own people, as they tried to use the guard in Georgia? Or, perhaps, from a former fraternal and now simply neighboring sovereign republic?

Incidentally, it is a very alarming sign that those units of the Georgian National Guard that refused to be subordinated to Z. Gamsakhurdia did not disband, but began to operate at their own discretion. We already have the sad experience of the OMON [special purpose militia detachment], which was established, as is known, with the best of intentions to fight against criminal groups, and which in a short time took part in politics to the extent of its own understanding of what was happening and its own ideas about good and evil. As a result, the OMON adventures absolutely eclipsed all "feats" of the bandits. The tragic example of Yugoslavia graphically illustrates what the consequences can be when an army involved in politics in a multinational state begins to operate at its own discretion.

Many years ago, the famous American economist Milton Friedman, a Nobel Prize laureate, formulated the "law of preservation of political authority." "This is the impression," he wrote, "that some kind of invariable sum total of cash exists for distribution by political authority. If the central government increases its authority, it is most likely that this is done at the expense of local self-government." And vice-versa, as we have an opportunity to convince ourselves.

It is apparently according to this principle that political influence is also being distributed among power structures. After the destruction of the system of executive authority, which was based on the party ticket—not unlike traffic rules that are obeyed for fear of losing a driver's license— the executive authority was weakened significantly. It really needs urgent strengthening. But, for the time being, this strengthening is going along the line of a disproportionate increase in the number of state officials, and the taking over of luxury apartments—that is, in accordance with our traditional concepts that have developed over the years of a totalitarian-bureaucratic regime.

Meanwhile, competence and professionalism, an ability for decisive actions on reforms that are needed by the country, and respect for the citizens and their support,

unquestionably relate to the symptoms of a really powerful authority. Every other authority, no matter what it is based on: fear, military force, and administrative or any other coercion, and no matter where it is based—in the center or in the republics, or even in the cities—will be doomed to sell resources so that it can support its existence at the expense of monetary infusions under abnormal conditions, while not having the potential to change conditions. If in the next few days the fear of this prospect does not unite us, then in a short time the sovereign republics one by one will be pulled into the world market without resources earmarked for sale, just as their impoverished citizens trade in the flea markets of the entire world with their pitiful goods at dumping prices.

## Bank Official Interviewed on Gold Transfers

### Swiss Bank Deposits Questioned

*OW0710190791 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 2000 GMT 3 Oct 91*

[Interview with Vladimir Nikolayevich Goryunov, head of the Swiss branch of the USSR Vnesheconombank, by Seyful-Milyukov; from the "Utro" program; in Zurich; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Seyful-Milyukov] The central street of Zurich, the Bahnhofstrasse, is called the Wall street of Switzerland because it is the financial capital of the country. The Bahnhofstrasse glitters with riches, respectability, and prosperity; it also houses the offices of the country's and world's largest banks. There are more than 300 of them here. Every day they perform transactions which are worth billions in foreign currency, gold, and other precious metals. Like London, Zurich is a major international gold market. It is here that our gold is transferred for sale by special planes capable of transporting about seven tonnes of the yellow metal. For decades, these operations were carried out in secret, unknown to the Soviet people who would find out about them from third parties.

The sale of gold on international markets—and Zurich is one of them—is entrusted by the government to the dealers of the USSR Vnesheconombank [Bank for Foreign Economic Activity]. But even they do not know everything about the secrets of Soviet gold. In Zurich we have visited a branch of this bank, which is run by Vladimir Nikolayevich Goryunov.

Recently there has been a report in the media that last year you deposited about 200 or 300 tonnes of gold in Swiss Banks, and for a price which is much lower than the world price. What can you tell us about these operations?

[Goryunov] In brief, I can only say that if such operations are carried out—as they are—than they are caried out according to directions and instructions that we have. I do not myself know why neither the information about gold extraction nor the information about gold sales has been published yet. Based on what I know about our gold fund and the extent of our sales, such information would not be negative for us—on the contrary, it would have been positive. In this respect, we have probably become bigger gold fetishists than many Western economists whom we have been accusing of being precisely that for quite a long time.

[Seyful-Milyukov] The disintegration of our country, and the establishment of financial and economic independence of the republics, may lead to many of our republics independently dealing in gold. How can this influence the world market and the situation of our country as a whole?

[Goryunov] You know, the question is probably not one of independent republics dealing in gold, but how professionally they will do it. If they do it professionaly, I do not think that any negative influence on the price of gold or the trading in these metals will take place. I do not think that today our republics can professionally trade in gold on the international market. I think information on transactions involving gold should be made public. Then—both for our public as a whole and for people who are interested in such deals—all this will probably become ordinary transactions, like coal for example, or petroleum, gas, or anything else. Such actions will immediately disperse all of the unnecessary tension and animation connected to the question of gold sales.

[Seyful-Milyukov] So you support glasnost in this question, which is so important and sensitive for us.

[Goryunov] I do not think I am the only one.

[Seyful-Milyukov] [passage indistinct].

### More on Gold Shipments

*LD0710092891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0100 GMT 7 Oct 91*

[From the press review]

[Excerpt] TRUD has published a letter from former USSR Finance Minister Vladimir Orlov, claiming that he knows nothing about the illegal shipment abroad of gold bullion. Investigations by the weekly Moscow News have also shown that there is no gold dust on the ex-minister's jacket. But they do prove that on the eve of the coup Orlov nonetheless did travel to Switzerland, as a tourist, without any official protocol. What is surprising is that the finance minister of a world power accepted an invitation from a certain Kurt Schmidt [as heard], a businessman from the village of Kirchesville [as heard].

Incidentally, during the coup Schmidt turned up in Moscow.

The Soviet Embassy in Switzerland had no knowledge of Orlov's visit, and initially neither did the local foreign affairs department. Meanwhile Orlov the holidaymaker

was spotted at major banks. Orlov himself told Moscow News journalists that he had gone to Switzerland on what he called Soviet Government business.

Yes, but what was the purpose of the visit?, he was asked. Orlov gave a fatuous answer: Gorbachev personally trusts me. He himself appointed me to this job.

Naturally, one can answer journalists' questions in such a fashion. I wonder if the former minister would start giving that kind of answer if investigators finally started getting interested in the circumstances of his visit. Also, on the same day as Orlov was in the banks at Lausanne, several hundred coded accounts were opened there—as many as are opened over several months.

### Official on Ruble, New Republican Currencies

*LD0510101391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0845 GMT 4 Oct 91*

[Text] Now let us turn to a different topic—a topic which probably remains one of the most acute in the all-absorbing wave of the republics' independence. It is the introduction of their own currency as a possibility of not allowing outsiders to their valuable internal markets.

We start with the opinion of Aleksandr Dumnov, head of the USSR State Bank Currency and Economic Directorate. Correspondent Lev Oleynik asked him what will happen to the ruble.

I would separate the processes. On the one hand, the introduction of national currency in the republics leaving the composition of the country—the Baltic republics which became independent states and UN members—is quite legal; having one's own currency is an attribute of an independent state.

It is a different matter for other sovereign states remaining within the composition of the country as a new political formation. I regard the introduction of national currencies as unjustified, as the aim of the commonwealth is to make use of the advantages of common economic space. Currencies should be freely exchangeable from one into another and be freely convertible, otherwise disintegration processes cannot be avoided. This is dangerous as the economy of the former union republics depends on the preservation of existing economic ties between enterprises. As we can see, disruption of this chain even in a few places has more serious consequences. It might assume catastrophic proportions for the country's economy, Aleksandr Dumnov believes.

Here are the opinions of the republics; I beg your pardon, I forgot to say that all these reports are published in the SOYUZ weekly, and the article is entitled: "Does happiness lie in money alone?". But let us continue, here are the views from the republics with regard to the introduction of new currencies.

The Republic of Belarus: There is more and more talk about creating national Belarusan money. But who is right? SOYUZ correspondent Aleksandr Shagun addressed this question to Sergey Ling, deputy Chairman of the Belarus Council of Ministers and Chairman of the republic's Gosplan.

Yes, we are elaborating a monetary unit, but so far this year and next year we will be living with the ruble. Many advocates of the rapid development of the Belarusan dukat—that is the name of the new Belarusan currency—harbor a secret or obvious idea that when we introduce our money and pay salaries to the republic's citizens in dukats, then we will start living, as no one but us will be able to buy goods in short supply.

Advocates of the dukat simply forget that we all live in a single economic space where it is necessary to have a common monetary unit for mutual settlements, for example the same ruble. That is why the traditional exchange rate for the ruble should operate alongside the national currency. The ruble will be a universal currency in the common economic space as neither the dukat, nor the thaler, nor the dinar, nor any other financial unit will be circulated in the neighboring republics.

That is why, while buying something for dukats at home, we cannot use them in neighboring republics. We will have to resort to the ruble. That is why when a sum of money is issued anew in any republic within a common economic space, inflation takes place in others, i.e. when we issue dukats for a sum, we pick our neighbor's pocket for the same amount. Undoubtedly, even the kindest neighbour will not stand for it. That is why, when introducing national currencies in a single economic space, a decision should be adopted to sell this currency for rubles. The market should not be saturated with empty circulation money.

This is what is taking place in Lithuania. It is already two months since general coupons for purchasing goods were introduced in Lithuania—so-called dual money. At once they were dubbed here as vagnorki, in honor of Vagnorius, the present head of the government.

One may get by without them in food shops, but payment for almost all industrial goods, except unpopular souvenirs and hand-made articles, should include coupons of an appropriate face value together with rubles. Only 20 percent of the fixed salary is secured by vagnorki, and there is a ceiling of not more than 200 coupons per month.

When the coupons were introduced, it was asserted that they would have to normalize the trade of goods in short supply, to protect the republic's internal market from shopping-spree invaders [pokupanty].

Did goods appear in Lithuanian shops after that? The shopping euphoria lasted for several days only. It could not be otherwise. Being the invention of the command-distribution system, the coupons are naturally unable to stimulate production. Moreover, according to the opinion of local economists, they only slow down the

transfer to a market, while preserving old non-commodity relations, and they slow down trade turnover and money circulation in the republic.

It is known that Lithuania is preparing to introduce its own national currency—litas. The leadership of the Lithuanian State Bank categorically refused to answer the questions of Gennadiy Litvintsev, a correspondent of the SOYUZ newspaper, with regard to the dates of changing over to litai. The Vagnorki may have a relatively long life as an intermediate monetary note between the ruble and the litas.

All this is taking place in the west of our country, but let us take a look at what is going on in the east.

Here is some information from Uzbekistan. Here it has been decided to form its own gold reserve for the introduction of its own national currency. Earlier this information was kept secret, Andrey Orlov, the author of the article and IZVESTIYA's own correspondent, writes.

It is known now that gold to the value of $800-900 million is mined in Uzbekistan every year. After having proclaimed its independence, the republic plans to supply itself with precious metals which will become the monetary reserve fund, in particular for the national bank for foreign economic activities.

Islam Karimov, president of the republic, said at a news conference that gold and silver extracted at Almalyk mining combine will now be put at the disposal of Uzbekistan. He also added that if the central government does not take account of our wishes, then the question will arise as to handing over the gold mined at Zarafshan combine to the republic as well. A law on the state independence of the Republic of Uzbekistan speaks about the right to introduce its own monetary unit—national currency.

If the union bodies are not taking into account the interests of republics, this question may become topical.

Well, of course, having the opportunity to replenish one's own gold reserve, one can dictate one's conditions and issue ultimatums. But I think that this question should be approached in a well-balanced and considered manner, and if there is a serious need, then everything must be thought through.

## Military

### Interrepublican Military Consultative Meeting

#### Defense Minister Remarks

*LD0810181491 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Network in Russian 1630 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Report by correspondent G. Sedov on an interrepublican consultative meeting at the USSR Defense Ministry in Moscow on 8 October; from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] [Sedov] We were warned that a serious and confidential discussion would take place even before the meeting began. The minimum amount of time would be allowed for journalists. Defense Minister Shaposhnikov, marshal of aviation, addressed those present with these words, among others:

[Begin Shaposhnikov recording] Under present conditions, I am left with either agreeing to the collapse of the Armed Forces—which is something I naturally am unable to do—or strengthening the Armed Forces. We all know that a decision was made on the unity of the Armed Forces and on collective security at the last, the fifth, Congress of USSR People's Deputies, and there were no other decisions. The real need arose to meet and discuss this with you, to determine the main questions of our work and, considering what you and I agree on today, to forward these questions to the State Council session for a decision of the USSR president and the presidents of the republics or the supreme leaders of the republics. [end recording]

[Sedov] As we can see, the subject of the meeting has been determined. It was proposed to continue further discussion without people taking pictures or notes. One supposes that we will learn about what was agreed from official reports.

#### Conference 'Behind Closed Doors'

*OW0810190791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1715 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Moscow on Tuesday [8 October], authorized representatives of ex-Soviet republics opened their second consultative conference on military reform. A senior official of the USSR Defense Ministry's Information Department told IF's [INTERFAX] reporter that the conference had proceeded behind closed doors and was not yet over at 18:00 Moscow time. He said chances were that it would continue on Wednesday [9 October]. The official declined to say what particular republics had sent their representatives to the Moscow conference which was expected to yield "common approaches to defense-related problems", specifically, to the creation of a common military-strategic space on the territories of ex-Soviet republics.

### Defense Ministry Commission's Work Described

*PM0910134191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Sep 91 First Edition p1*

[Unattributed report: "In the USSR Defense Ministry Commission"]

[Text] The USSR Defense Ministry commission for the abolition of military-political bodies and the formation of combat training bodies and personnel structures is

continuing its work. Commission Chairman Colonel General D.A. Volkogonov has held a number of working conferences.

They discussed the general questions of setting up personnel organs in the Armed Forces, reorganizing combat training, and providing social protection for servicemen and members of their families. In particular, special attention was drawn to illegal actions which have come to light in a number of military districts and fleets. Officers employed as political workers are being arbitrarily recertified, banned from working with people, prematurely removed from the staff, and not being paid their allowance. Directives issued by the chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff on 28 August, 2 September, and 13 September this year are being sent to the troops and fleets to prevent such actions.

The following groups are working as part of the commission:

To develop new staff organization structures (E.A. Vorobyev, V.F. Kovalevskiy, G.A. Stefanovskiy);

To reprofile higher education establishments, recertify and find jobs for the professors and lecturers concerned (N.A. Chaldymov, N.V. Artamonov);

To certify military-political workers and find jobs for them (O.A. Komarov, S.N. Yushenkov, Yu.V. Solod);

To deal with letters, applications, and proposals (A.A. Alekseyev);

To liaise with the public and the mass media, resolve youth problems, reorganize the mass media (M.P. Nenashev).

Experts, scientists, and representatives of the public and state organs are taking part in the commission's work.

A special group has been set up within the commission to monitor the progress of certifying officers employed as political workers and appointing them to new posts. Groups of Army sociologists are being sent to various military districts to study the Army community's opinion on the advisability of introducing the position of personnel officer in the new structures.

At a scheduled session on 20 September, the commission discussed the question of military-political academic institutions and social sciences departments in higher education establishments. During the discussion, it was suggested that a USSR Defense Ministry Humanities Academy be formed on the basis of the V.I. Lenin Military-Political Academy. The future of military-political schools was also discussed. Various views were expressed: That they should be reprofiled, fundamentally reorganized, or broken up, for example. Discussion of this important question will continue.

The commission has decided to conduct a survey in military-political schools and study students' opinion on their future in the USSR Armed Forces.

It is proposed to give USSR Defense Ministry higher education establishments the right to independently include social sciences in their tuition program.

The commission plans to give a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists in the near future. The time and place will be announced in due course.

## Estonia

### Savisaar Outlines Government Priorities

*LD0910013891 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 4 Oct 91*

[Excerpt] [Announcer] At a news conference following a government session, Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar revealed the main aims of the second stage of the three-by-three program for the next three months:

[Savisaar] The first of those aims is indeed talks with Moscow to achieve the best possible positions for independent Estonia; the second aim is an ownership reform that is clearly rising to the foreground; the third issue may come as a surprise to you: namely, facilitating the development of party structures—it is necessary for us to consolidate our economic and social changes in a political way; otherwise the ownership reform, for example, may indeed lead to negative consequences. The fourth issue is the one of making principled decisions in respect of statehood, starting from the question of retaining a parliamentary state or developing a presidential state instead; or issues connected with the law and issues connected with citizenship; we are awaiting a decision on citizenship from the Supreme Council; many things currently are held up due to this. Next, the fifth aim is our becoming more international and international guarantees: guarantees to our statehood as well as guarantees to trade and so on. And the sixth main aim is to survive this winter and prepare for 1992, for the 1992 economic year.

[Announcer] According to Edgar Savisaar all six of these aims are threaded through horizontally with the task of preserving stability in society and avoiding big clashes between different interests. The prime minister spoke in greater detail about the first aim, out of the six, that is, the talks with the USSR.

[Savisaar] Official talks can begin once diplomatic relations have taken shape between Estonia and the USSR. [Passage indistinct] And it was agreed that our talks delegation consists of a commission of four ministers with each of these (?retaining a specific responsibility). [passage omitted]

### Soviet Troops Begin Withdrawal 8 Oct

*OW0810195591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1930 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Latvian Interior Minister Aloizs Vaznis told BF [BALTFAX] that the withdrawal of the USSR Interior Ministry's troops from Latvia began on October 8. In his words, in the first place, regiment 54/59 of the Riga militia which during the past year guarded the Communist Party's property will be withdrawn.

After that another militia regiment engaged in guarding prisons and convoying prisoners will be gradually pulled out. Mr. Vaznis explained that this regiment cannot be withdrawn overnight because it is necessary to prepare its substitute which may take two months. The minister also said that about 1,800 people, including officers, are needed to guard the prisons. The prisons will be guarded mainly by young men drafted for the Latvian state service.

Mr. Vaznis pointed out that in accordance with an agreement with Soviet Interior Minister Colonel-General Viktor Barannikov, Soviet interior troops will leave Latvia by the end of this year.

### Council Rejects Ruutel Heading Talks

*LD0810160191 Moscow TASS in English 1419 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[By correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn October 8 TASS—The Estonian parliament today voted against appointing President Arnold Ruutel as the leader of the Estonian delegation to talks with the USSR. Ruutel had been nominated by a group of deputies representing factions in opposition to the government.

According to Deputy Tiyt, the group ought not to have nominated the top ranking statesman to lead the delegation, especially in view of the fact that the leadership of the Soviet delegation has been entrusted to Anatoliy Sobchak, Mayor of St. Petersburg.

Made [as received] also said the talks were no longer needed because Estonia's independence had already been achieved and recognised by the Soviet Union.

Opponents of talks among the members of the Estonian parliament say there is nobody to hold talks with, as the Soviet Union has ceased to exist as a subject of law.

Chairman of the parliament's foreign affairs committee Indrek Toome, on the other hand, says the parliament should not have dismissed the former commission for talks with Moscow and entrusted the Republic's government with conducting talks with the Soviet Union, particularly as the package of questions up for discussion includes some that are not within the competence of an executive body.

## Latvia

### People's Front Requests Citizenship Referendum

*LD0710105891 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 0530 GMT 6 Oct 91*

[Excerpts] The decision of the People's Front of Latvia faction of the Supreme Council to begin tackling the citizenship question has brought a varied reaction. After an exchange of opinions between the People's Front Board and the Front's parliament faction, the leader of

the faction, Janis Dinevics, has explained the adoption of the faction's decision and the contents of the laws being offered.

Yesterday, the Committee of Latvia expressed its opposition to the decision of the People's Front faction to decide the citizenship question, repeatedly emphasizing that the question of citizenship is to be decided only by the newly-elected parliament, and that the offered package of laws is to be regarded as a zero option with a delayed action. [passage omitted]

Next Tuesday, 8 October, three documents will be submitted, in accordance with the decision of the majority faction, for discussion by the participants of the parliament's plenary sitting. First, a document by which the rights of citizenship of the Republic of Latvia are being restored. The second one, called for a discussion at the plenary sitting, is a constitutional law on citizens' and human rights. And the third one, the law itself on citizenship. The law on a register of inhabitants is already included on the Supreme Council's agenda.

At a sitting of the faction, 89 deputies voted for inclusion of such draft laws on the parliament's agenda. For the time being no applications have been received for leaving the faction in connection with such a decision. [passage omitted]

Speaking at a news conference today, Janis Dinevics categorically denied that the offered package of laws would mean a discussion of the zero option in the parlaiament. [passage omitted] Speaking about dates of implementation, the leader of the People's Front of Latvia faction foresees the register of inhabitants is to be accomplished within six months, or within a year at most. [passage omitted].

As it can be seen, the decision adopted by the faction does not conform with the decision of the Board of the People's Front of Latvia on the matter of the citizenship question and elections to the parliament. Because of this, the leadership of the People's Front of Latvia has adopted an appeal to all the branches of the People's Front to start a collection of signatures, to demand from the Supreme Council the holding of a referendum on this draft citizenship law. Such a demand by the People's Front of Latvia is founded upon the relevant articles of the Constitution [Satversme] of Latvia, in which, with one-tenth of the citizens of Latvia making a demand, the legislature must vote on such a law or it must go to a referendum. According to calculations, in such an instance the People's Front of Latvia branches must collect approximately 170,000 signatures. The People's Front begins this collection of signatures on Thursday, after the adoption of the corresponding formal decision.

### Interior Troops Start Withdrawal

*LD0910101491 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0500 GMT 9 Oct 91*

[Text] Withdrawal of the USSR interior troops from Latvia started yesterday. Aloizs Vaznis, minister of internal affairs of the Republic of Latvia, in an interview to a BNS correspondent, said that armed forces' unit No. 54-59, the so-called Riga militia regiment, which in the course of the past year was engaged in guarding Communist Party properties, began to withdraw. Armed forces' unit No. 74-58, which was engaged in guarding places of imprisonment and escorting imprisoned persons, would be withdrawn gradually.

As Aloizs Vaznis reported, a gradual withdrawal of the armed forces' units is necessary so that young men to be called up into the compulsory state service for guarding places of imprisonment can be suitably trained. It is planned to accomplish this training within two months. As Vaznis announced, to guard the places of imprisonment in Latvia, approximately 1,800 men, including officers and additional service soldiers, are required. He emphasized that after an agreement with the USSR minister of internal affairs, Colonel General Barannikov, all USSR interior troops will have left Latvia by the end of this year.

### Committee of Latvia Assess Citizenship Law

*LD0810124191 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 0530 GMT 6 Oct 91*

[Text] [Announcer] Concerning the Supreme Council plans to settle the citizenship question, at its sitting on Tuesday, the Committee of Latvia attested its negative assessment of this decision. That is also its stance on the plan confirmed today by the People's Front of Latvia to urge branches of the People's Front of Latvia [LTF] to begin a signature-collecting campaign.

[Aigars Jirgens, deputy chairman of the Committee of Latvia] On 1 October there was a sitting of the Committee of Latvia, which discussed the current political situation which has arisen since the decision of the LTF faction in the Supreme Council on the citizenship question. The Committee of Latvia finds that the action of the Supreme Council and its LTF faction, specifically in the determining of the legal status of inhabitants, and the property question, do not correspond to the basic interests of Latvian citizens and the Latvian nation, because the mass flooding of colonists into Latvia is not qualified as illegal activity on the part of the USSR; there is no demand for the elimination of the consequences of these (?crimes).

Even more acceptance of USSR citizens is anticipated for citizenship of Latvia and participation in parliamentary elections. Also, the restoration of property expropriated as a result of nationalization, to its lawful owners and their heirs is inconsistent, and artificially limited by additional conditions. All this means that in a covert way, the genocide against the Latvian nation continues, and if we allow such a policy to continue, it will mean that we in our country are handing both political and economic power over to foreigners. That is why the Committee of Latvia calls on all the patriots of Latvia to start a campaign of disobedience to the current political course of the Supreme Council. We call on them to take

part in a protest action at the continuation of terror in Latvia at 1200 on 12 October in Doma Square, Riga. The action will take place under the slogan: The Latvian state for its citizens! The land of Latvia for its lawful owners!

The Committee of Latvia also calls for the activation of the citizens of the Republic of Latvia in obtaining identity cards, as well as to send telegrams to the Presidents of the USSR and Russia with the demand to call for the repatriation of their citizens to their homeland.

[Announcer] Tell me, does the Committee of Latvia also have a stance on the recently adopted call by the People's Front of Latvia to hold a referendum of citizens to vote on the citizenship law?

[Jirgens] Regarding the signature collection proposed by the Board of the LTF to call for a citizens' referendum, we call on the LTF branches to reconsider whether it wouldn't be more useful to do this signature collection with a claim that the Supreme Council does not have the right at all to adopt the citizenship law, to accept USSR citizens for Latvian citizenship, and to change the present composition of the citizens of the Republic of Latvia, because, as far as I know, so far most branches of the LTF and branch associations of the LTF have expressed a very consistent stance, that the total of the citizens of the Republic of Latvia in the present situation is not to be changed, nor is there to be an extension in the scope of voters for the Saeima.

## Lithuania

### Landsbergis Fears Deployment of Nuclear Arms

*LD0810174791 Moscow TASS in English 1706 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[By correspondent Dmitriy Voskoboynikov]

[Text] Blackpool October 8 TASS—Troops must be withdrawn from Lithuania the soonest possible, as their presence there is dangerous to the people and is a continuing violation of international law, Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis told an informal meeting within the framework of the annual conference of British Tories.

According to him, the Soviet Union wants to legalize the presence of its troops in the republic and intends to adjust the Soviet- American Intermediate Nuclear Force Treaty to apply to the changed situation in such a way as to make Lithuania a country on whose territory Soviet nuclear weapons will continue to be deployed.

"We shall not agree to this," Landsbergis said.

"American inspectors should check whether these rockets have been relocated to some other place on Soviet territory and then check to see whether these weapons are no longer on Lithuanian territory."

Landsbergis stressed that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Lithuania is also important because there remains a possibility of another, and perhaps more successful coup d'etat in the Soviet Union as a number of old structures have been preserved.

He told journalists that the Baltic Council intends to pressure for Soviet withdrawal from the capitals of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia before December 1, 1991.

Asked about his present relations with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Landsbergis said he had no direct contacts with them lately but noted that diplomatic relations between Lithuania and the Soviet Union would be resumed on Wednesday. He said the move would create a much more acceptable beginning of a dialogue with the Soviet leadership.

Landsbergis stressed that there had been "no conflicts in relations between Lithuania and Russia and these ties have not deteriorated."

### Poles Picket Outside Parliament

*OW0810154691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1430 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] BF's [BALTFAX] correspondent reports from Vilnius that Tuesday [8 October] morning Lithuanian MPs [members of parliament] came to face a small but rather noisy picket. Several dozen people with posters in Polish protested against the decision to create "Greater Vilnius" taken last week by the Vilnius city council.

This decision provides for considerably expanding Lithuania's capital. Under it about 10 small administrative units in Vilnius region will be absorbed by the city.

Most people living in Vilnius region are ethnic Poles. The picketers representing them protested against the city council's decision viewing it as an infringement on their rights. They call for cancelling it in the belief that they will not be able to pay the land tax under new tariffs (rural taxes are much lower than those in cities, particular in a capital city: BF), and will have to move to other areas.

### Soviet Troops' Withdrawal Issue Reviewed

*LD0910083291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 7 Oct 91*

["Review of Events" program, presented by Edvinas Butkus]

[Text] As you remember, last week we started our report with Vytautas Landsbergis' idea that the Soviet armed forces, at least the main contingent, should be withdrawn from Lithuania by the New Year. Both he and other high-ranking officials have been stressing during the

week that the withdrawal of the troops is not a subject for negotiation—only a certain technical agreement could be made on this matter.

Last week the same stance was confirmed also by Latvian and Estonian officials, and what is more, they had direct contacts in Moscow with high-ranking Soviet officials, and it seems that they also stressed to them to withdraw the troops without delay. Estonian Prime Minister Savisaar has even signed a provisional agreement on this matter with Soviet Defence Minister Shaposhnikov.

It was partly because of this concern about the present of Soviet troops in the Baltic states that the leaders of the Baltic states met in Vilnius on Saturday. The document adopted on this most important issue has not yet been made public. This does not mean that the public interests will suffer, that the Baltic leaders are intending to make preliminary compromises to the Soviet; however, it means that as before, the positions and the possibilities of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are not the same.

It was announced officially at a new conference when the sitting of the Baltic Council was about to be concluded that a demand had been included into the document that the troops should be withdrawn from the capital cities by December. However, it was not explained if this applied to all the capitals. The demand was made that the Soviet troops be withdrawn as soon as possible; however, the deadline was not given. The leadership of the Soviet armed forces was urged to solve the social problems facing the servicemen, while Western as well as the Baltic countries concerned about the withdrawal of the troops were urged to grant material help to the Soviets. The German example was mentioned at the news conference.

It was discovered from persons close to the negotiation process, people who did not wish to have their names made public, that the demand for the withdrawal of troops in the document did not name all the capital cities: It is not too difficult to guess which one is missing. In raising such a demand the position of Vilnius is not favorable; the position of Tallinn is worse because of several circumstances, one of which, without mentioning purely military matters, is the fact that comparatively not much progress has been made in Estonia in setting up their own structures for the defense of the country and special police units, which, for example, could successfully take over guarding prisons. Concerning Riga, the headquarters of the Soviet armed forces stationed in the Baltic states is in Riga.

In brief, the discussion of the document concerning the withdrawal of the armed forces and the final result revealed that Lithuanian positions are indeed the strongest; Lithuania has prepared itself well and therefore Lithuania's voice is the strongest. It looks as though the adopted document somewhat softens Lithuania's stance. However, if the Soviets are expecting this they will be mistaken.

The front of the Baltic states in the campaign against the Soviets continues to remain uneven, however. The obligation undertaken by the states mark the line from which there is no retreat. However, it says nothing about how much further one can advance. There is no doubt Lithuania will advance once again.

Concerning the new idea to urge the West to help the Soviet armed forces to leave the Baltic shores, Vytautas Landsbergis will have a chance to test this idea on 8 October when he meets British Prime Minister John. Perhaps it is one of the most suitable countries, bearing in mind that in this situation nothing could be expected from the Germans.

As is known, no news came from Eduard Shevardnadze last week. He had been appointed head of the Soviet negotiation delegation. We do not know if the Soviet delegation has been set up, although according to Aleksandr Yakovlev, he had already made up the team for the negotiations with Latvia and it is now getting ready. It is possible that the Soviet tactics in the negotiations with the Baltic states could be difference in every aspect. However, continuing to ignore Lithuania would turn into a scandal. I think that this week we will hear the news from the Kremlin.

### Agreement Drafted

*OW0810155191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1430 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Last week an agreement was drafted between the USSR interior ministry and its Lithuanian counterpart on removing Soviet interior ministry troops from Lithuania, deputy prime minister Zigmas Vaisvila said in an interview for Radio Vilnius. It provides for withdrawing the troops before next March.

According to Z. Vaisvila, the two governments will discuss the draft in the near future. He believes that the time allotted for withdrawal is quite feasible, but it might even be reduced.

4 regiments of Soviet interior ministry troops are stationed in Lithuania: in Vilnius, Kaunas, Siaulai and Sneczkus. According to estimates, they comprise up to 10,000 servicemen.

Though Lithuania's government is doing all it can to speed up the withdrawal of Soviet troops, said Z. Vaisvila, he believes that this will be very hard to accomplish.

His government, the deputy prime minister said, has unofficial information that some units have already left Lithuania, but there are no official reports on this score. As for the Soviet army units, their leadership said they can be removed within 5 to 7 years, which Z. Vaisvila describes as conflicting with reality. He believes that they can leave Lithuania within Z years.

## Problems Viewed

*PM0810102791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Oct 91 Union Edition p 1*

[Report by correspondent N. Lashkevich: "Will Troops Be Withdrawn from Lithuania?"]

[Text] Vilnius—[Supreme Council President Vytautas] Landsbergis' announcement that the servicemen from one military unit have expressed dissatisfaction with the leadership of the USSR Defense Ministry and the Lithuanian authorities' actions on the question of the withdrawal of Soviet troops had a somewhat unexpected and even sensational ring.

On Saturday Landsbergis received a telegram from USSR Defense Minister Shaposhnikov suggesting that he meet in Moscow 8 October with a fully empowered Lithuanian delegation and discuss questions of the status of the Soviet Army on Lithuanian territory, the principles of the formation of the defense budget for next year, the next draft of young men into the army, and the procedure for service by servicemen in Lithuania.

In an answering telegram the head of the Lithuanian parliament stated that these questions are the subject of interstate talks, not departmental talks. As for the "technical" aspect of this problem, it can be settled at the level of the USSR Defense Ministry and the Lithuanian territorial protection department.

Landsbergis cited the content of the letter to the Lithuanian parliament from military unit 22238. In particular he quoted the following lines: "The order for our withdrawal, inactivation, and reorganization without providing social guarantees will be considered criminal. That gives us the moral right not to fulfill it." Local observers have assessed the message as an ultimatum to their minister and a warning to the Lithuanian authorities about the adverse consequences of their efforts for the immediate withdrawal of troops from Lithuania's territory.

Regarding the forthcoming plans for the withdrawal of troops, one can understand the servicemen's fears. Many officers in Vilnius have well appointed apartments, their lives are relatively well adjusted, and the prospects of tent towns in the Russian boondocks do not suit many of them. They are also worried by the ambiguity of the present situation. Lithuania has received real independence but to this day the fate of the servicemen serving in what is now a sovereign country has not been decided.

The servicemen's future today is unclear. The unsteady political situation and in particular social situation is pushing the servicemen to take radical steps.

Meanwhile the question of the withdrawal of USSR Armed Forces from the territory of the independent Baltic republics is now becoming the basic one on the political agenda. As IZVESTIYA has already reported, this problem occupied a leading place during the meeting of the leaders of the three republics in Vilnius. Talk on this subject will probably be continued at the first session of the interparliamentary Baltic assembly which, in accordance with the decision of the Baltic Council, will met in October, and also at the joint session of the Supreme Soviets of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia in Tallinn 8-9 November. In the opinion of the heads of the three republics, international observers should monitor the process of the troops' withdrawal from the Baltic.

In turn Lithuania is already beginning work to draft young men for service in the territorial protection system. Those who have not served in the ranks of the Soviet Army and who have reached the age of 19 will very soon be drafted. Service in the internal and border troops and other subunits will last 12 months. Those who are not suited to line service will undergo alternative service. The intensive training of an officer corps is under way. In Kaunas officers' courses are already operating. In all likelihood the senior officers corps will be trained abroad. In brief Lithuania is actively preparing to fill possible gaps that may appear with the withdrawal of Soviet troops..

So far this problem remains the subject of general discussions and is not reaching the level of practical decisions. That is why it is no accident that conflict situations like the above-mentioned ultimatum are arising. Interstate talks that could begin in the very near future would place a powerful barrier on the path of many farfetched and widely publicized statements on both sides. But when they will begin—that question still remains open.

## Supreme Soviet

### Shakhray Delivers Speech on Presidency

*LD0810212391 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1730 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Speech by Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakhray, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee on Legislation, at 8 October session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium in Moscow; introductory paragraph read by program announcer Lyudmila Semina—recorded]

[Text] Important problems concerning the state structure of the Russian Federation and the structure of executive power were raised in the report given to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium by Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakhray, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee on Legislation. The question was put like this: on the decisions of the Supreme Soviet of the Kalmyk Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the Supreme Soviet of the Chuvash Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR].

[Shakhray] You see from the documents that have been presented that essentially nine out of 20 republics have now made decisions to some extent or other to introduce the institution of president in republics within the RSFSR. One cannot go on pretending that this problem does not exist because the first presidential elections take place on 19 October, and thereafter the process will snowball. What position should we adopt?

I personally believe that there is nothing to be afraid of in elections for the heads of executive power in republics forming part of the RSFSR. I am even prepared to admit that this is a question that has essentially been decided in advance, following the election of a president in Tatarstan. Consequently the question amounts to something else: Upon what constitutional and legal basis will the presidential elections take place in the republics, or, as I put it earlier, the elections of the heads of executive power? To what extent must this legal basis be in keeping with the Constitution and RSFSR legislation?

Take the text of the law—I will give several examples—of the law of the Kalmyk republic on the president and corresponding changes to the Constitution. This law contains a number of provisions which in my view are highly constructive. For example, the president of the Kalmyk SSR forms part of the single system of executive power in the RSFSR headed by the president of the Russian Federation. The resolution of a great many questions follows from this formula—forming part of the single system of executive power—including questions concerning the powers of the president of Russia with regard to the heads of executive power in the subordinate levels.

On the other hand, however, the presidential legislation in the republics does contain provisions that in my view are contentious or unacceptable. For example, practically everywhere there is a requirement to be able to speak the state languages of the particular republic in question as one of the criteria for becoming president of that republic. I understand that generally speaking such a requirement is on the one hand fair, but on the other hand it makes it impossible now for an individual who is not of native nationality to be elected in that republic. The result is the effective inequality of citizens before the Constitution and the law because of the issue of being able to speak the state language. Citizens are deprived of the right to elect an individual who is not of a certain nationality.

The text of the presidential oath of the Kalmyk republic contains an oath of allegiance only to the Constitution of that republic. There is no mention of respect for the Constitution of the Russian Federation and the laws of the Russian Federation issued within the powers of the Federation. This line—unfortunately we already have plenty of experience of this—is capable of being developed in such a way that the laws of the Russian Republic and the Constitution of the Russian Republic will not be applied. The hierarchy of laws is once again transferred to the war of the laws.

Consequently we can adopt a resolution declaring that the decisions of the aforementioned republic Supreme Soviets are not in keeping with the Constitution and suspending or declaring invalid these acts until the appropriate changes are made to the Russian legislation. That is the juridical side of the issue. From the purely political—or if you like the human point of view—the Supreme Soviet Presidium can address a statement to the republics forming part of the RSFSR, saying that we understand that it is expedient and allow the introduction of heads of executive power in these republics, but on condition that the unity of executive power and the unity of the state structure of the Russian Federation are observed, in order that separatist forces are not able to use such decisions to split the Russian state.

### Vice President: Situation 'Complete Anarchy'

*LD0810230991 Moscow TASS in English 2218 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Tamara Zamyatina and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow October 8 TASS—Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy described the current situation in Russia as a "complete anarchy," during today's meeting with people's deputies at the "White House."

"We adopt lots of laws, but no one abides by them, since there is no mechanism to govern the state and control law compliance," Rutskoy said. "As a result, anarchy ascends the throne."

The government is idle, Rutskoy stressed. It is a huge system, where no one answers for anything. In the opinion of Rutskoy, it is high time to appoint ministers on a contest basis.

The Russian vice president sharply criticized members of the Russian Government, in particular, Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Viktor Yaroshenko and Minister of Food and Agriculture Gennadiy Kulik for wasting natural and raw material resources of Russia and being sluggish in conducting land reform. In his words, such deeds "deserve capital punishment."

Touching on the agreement on economic community, Rutskoy noted that, with all the respect to republican independence, it should not be allowed that Russia remains "a milk cow" since the economic community is created, to a great extent, at the expense of Russian interests.

In the opinion of the vice president, it is necessary, in the first turn, to conclude a political treaty even if with three republics.

Then, an economic agreement could be signed within the framework of this union. He proposed to make all the payments in hard currency, as it is done in the world practice, with all those who do not enter the political union.

Rutskoy advised the Russian Supreme Soviet to consider the political union and economic agreement on Friday.

He also informed the deputies on the upcoming meeting of the Russian State Council, where Boris Yeltsin "will be told ten times sharper than before about the state of the economy and the need to consolidate local executive power structures."

He told deputies about his trip to Chechen-Ingush and said that "new Karabakh is ripening." "Before this powder keg explodes, I want to offer Boris Yeltsin to hold a congress of elders of the northern Caucasus," he noted.

Asked about the formation of national guard in Moscow, Saint Petersburg and other cities, the vice president noted that their creation is anticonstitutional, since a law on national guard has not been adopted.

Speaking at the meeting, Russian State Secretary Gennadiy Burbulis informed those present on his recent visit to the Russian president, currently on rest. In the words of Burbulis, Boris Yeltsin "reacted normally" to his public statement that "Russia will become a successor of the Union."

However, the upcoming meeting of the Russian Supreme Soviet will give an estimation to this statement, Burbulis said.

## Session Adopts Resolution on Chechen-Ingushetia

*LD0910121791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1920 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Text] Moscow, 8 Oct (TASS)—Having listened to a report by Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy on the political situation in the Chechen-Ingush republic, and having examined an appeal by the provisional Supreme Soviet of the Chechen-Ingush republic to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, and the conclusion of the Procurator's Office of the Chechen-Ingush republic on the state of law and order in the republic, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium expresses serious concern at the situation which has evolved in the Chechen-Ingush republic. This is what the resolution of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on the political situation in the Chechen-Ingush republic says.

The escalation of violent actions on the part of the illegal armed formations is continuing, the document notes. State institutions and officials are being seized . Certain social formations are assuming the authority of bodies of power, and other anticonstitutional actions are being carried out. The life, rights, and property of citizens of the Chechen-Ingush republic are being subjected to growing danger.

Striving to promote the earliest normalization of the situation and the restoration of constitutional order in the Chechen-Ingush republic, the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. Until a new composition of the Supreme Soviet of Chechen-Ingush republic is elected, the provisional Supreme Soviet of the republic formed by the previous composition of the Supreme Soviet of Chechen-Ingush republic should be regarded as the only legitimate body of state power on the territory of the Chechen-Ingush republic.

2. Illegal armed formations should hand over their weapons to Internal Affairs bodies before 2400 on 10 October 1991.

3. to propose that the provisional Supreme Soviet of the Chechen-Ingush republic be headed by comrade Bakhmadov:

should adopt all the necessary measures for stabilizing the situation in the Chechen-Ingush republic and unconditionally ensuring law and order;

that elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Chechen-Ingush republic should be held on the basis of the existing legislation.

## Yeltsin Expected To Veto Law on Appointments

*LD0910085191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2117 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Text] Russian President Yeltsin is expected to veto a law on heads of local administration which was adopted by the parliament. This law proposes not to appoint heads of administration, but to elect them. Yeltsin's return to Moscow is expected the day after tomorrow.

In the meantime, still in the south, according to Radio Liberty, he is writing a book following the example of the Gorbachevs, Yakovlev, Popov, and others.

### Deputy Chairman Saburov Announces Resignation

*LD0910102991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1006 GMT 9 Oct 91*

[Text] Moscow, 9 Oct (TASS)—Yevgeniy Saburov, deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers and the republic's economics minister, has resigned. He announced this today at a joint sitting of the chambers of the Russian parliament.

Yevgeniy Saburov named the following reasons among those which prompted him to resign: The impossibility, given the present composition of the Russian Government, of implementing the program to stabilize the economy and shift to market relations adopted at the third RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies; the unwillingness of many members of the cabinet to support the economic treaty signed by three, and initialed by eight, republics.

In Yevgeniy Saburov's view, the majority of Russian ministers are presently engaged in everything but showing concern for raising the well-being of the people.

### Parliament To Discuss Draft Economic Treaty

*LD0910103191 Moscow TASS in English 0841 GMT 9 Oct 91*

[By TASS correspondents Gennadiy Talalayev and Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow October 9 TASS— The Russian Federation parliament will have a busy day today.

Contrary to a tentative agenda, there will be a joint meeting of the two houses of the Russian parliament to discuss an item concerning "a draft treaty on an economic community."

The treaty is known to have been initialed in Alma-Ata several days ago. However, deputies to the Russian parliament had expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that the draft treaty had not been discussed by them.

In addition, the parliament, it transpired, had not authorized anyone to sign the document on behalf of Russia.

### Session Discusses Collaboration of Deputies

*LD0910122991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1843 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Text] Moscow, 8 Oct (TASS)—To ensure the collaboration of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet and RSFSR people's deputies with the USSR people's deputies representing the RSFSR in the USSR Supreme Soviet, an RSFSR Supreme Soviet resolution promulgated here today sets out the following provisions:

1. The RSFSR people's deputies and the USSR people's deputies, representing the RSFSR in the USSR Supreme Soviet, are guided in their activities by the RSFSR Constitution and laws and by the decisions of the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and also by the USSR laws in force on the RSFSR territory, and they defend the economic and political interests of the Russian Federation.

2. The RSFSR people's deputies and the USSR people's deputies, representing the RSFSR in the USSR Supreme Soviet, can be recalled by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in compliance with procedures determined by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

The procedure for delegating deputies to stand in for those who have left is determined by Article 1 of the USSR Law "On Bodies of State Power and the Government of the USSR during the Transition Period".

3. The decisions of the RSFSR delegation in the Council of Republics of the USSR Supreme Soviet are regarded as endorsed if more than 16 of the 32 deputies representing republics and autonomous entities within the RSFSR's composition and peoples that have no statehood of their own voted for them and if more than 10 of the 20 deputies representing the RSFSR as a whole voted for them.

If the RSFSR delegation fails to endorse a decision after the second round of voting, the issue is put to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet session.

4. The USSR Supreme Soviet decisions which the RSFSR delegation has not supported are subject to immediate examination by a session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and in the period between the sessions by a sitting of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

## Federation Affairs

### Alma-Ata Treaty Causes Administration Struggle

*LD0810140091 Moscow Central Television First Program in Russian 1300 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers has formed a commission to consider the draft agreement on an economic community, drawn up in Alma-Ata. This agreement has been the cause of a new scandal in the Russian Government. Initially the signature of the Russian representative was put on the Alma-Ata document. The Council of Ministers then unexpectely revoked this and declared it invalid.

All this is evidence of a serious struggle taking place within Yeltsin's administration.

### Burbulis Says Yeltsin Back in Moscow 10 Oct

*LD0810182191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Text] Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] State Secretary Gennadiy Burbulis regards defining the path Russia will take to full sovereignty as the task for the next week. He announced this at a meeting between people's deputies and journalists. Gennadiy Burbulis reported that President Yeltsin will return to Moscow on 10 October, the Union's State Council will sit meet on the 11th, and on the 12th the president will have a whole series of meetings, in particular with representatives of the Council of Ministers, on matters of coordinating positions.

Concerning the matter of electing heads of administrations, set for 8 December, the state secretary said that the possibility of the president using his right of veto should not be ruled out. Gennadiy Burbulis himself said that he doubts the expediency of such elections. The RSFSR state secretary stressed that there should now be a move away from political barricades toward economic affairs and affairs of management. A more decisive path toward economic change needs to be found.

Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy also took part in the meeting. He spoke in favor of convening a congress of North Caucasus elders as soon as possible.

### Deputy Gavrilov Resigns in Letter to Yeltsin

*LD0810200191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Text] Recently there have been reports in the press about the difficult situation that has arisen within the Russian Government. Here is another worrying point: Gavrilov, deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers and Russian minister of ecology and utilization of natural resources, has resigned. Usually the resignation of the deputy prime minister requires comments which would clarify the reasons for such a decision. But this time Igor Gavrilov gave the reasons himself in his letter to Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin.

Among other things he writes that the start of the work of presidential structures, not yet completely finalized in Russia, dramatically coincided with the coup of 19-21 August which sharply changed the political situation in the country. Objectively there is no more need for an uncompromising political fight against the conservative center. For the first time in the Union's history there is a possibility of creating a democratic community union of sovereign states. But according to Gavrilov, the situation that has arisen in the Russian leadership leads one to say that instead of serious economic work, the false fight continues against the center, which no longer exists in its previous form, against friendly republics, and unfortunately with each other.

Igor Gavrilov believes that the earlier stance on the treaty on the economic community expressed by the Russian president on numerous occasions has been completely altered during the last meetings of the Russian Government, to the point where it has become unacceptable.

These are the reasons for Igor Gavrilov's resignation from the post of deputy chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, as expressed in his letter to the Russian president.

### Kozyrev Urges Realism on Arms Budget

*LD0810234691 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Gorbachev needs disarmament partly to maintain his standing as leader on bold foreign political decisions. Through disarmament, Russian leaders hope to reduce the burden of budget expenditure and to expand conversion:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Disarmament implies releasing people and means. Are there any estimates—at least preliminary ones—of how many people will be released and what means the country will save by this action?

[Kozyrev] Of course, we should remain realists, perhaps, and should be aware of the fact that during the initial stage, the implementation of certain measures may even require, perhaps, additional spending. It is another thing that, of course, eventually, all these measures lead, first, to strengthening security, second, to reducing expenditure on defense in general and, third, to halting the production and modernization of all these systems since they are being completely eliminated.

In my view, we should realize very clearly that, on the whole, these measures—if one takes a period of five or 10 years—are exceptional, a kind of manna from heaven in essence, in fact, because for us the reorientation of the military complex toward creative goals is the very reserve upon which, I think, we can rely, and this is what make us a potentially great economic power. [end recording]

It remains unclear for the time being in what republics the largest cuts will be made. One could suppose that tactical weapons will be primarily removed from border military districts in the Ukraine, Belorussia, and other republics and stationed in Russia's central military depots, thereby reducing the danger of unrestricted use of nuclear arms in interrepublican arguments.

### Rutskoy Views Proposed Prime Minister Post

*LD0810233391 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Interview with Vice President Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy by correspondent V. Kukushkin; place and date not given; from the "Vesti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Kukushkin] The Russian Information Agency reports that you have received a proposal, Aleksandr Vladimirovich, to become prime minister, and you have expressed a desire to accept it. You said that if you take this post, you will put things in order, especially in the situation, perhaps, which we see today.

[Rutskoy] Well, you see, it is, maybe, not quite so. I simply was giving my views on the current situation in the republic. The president and the Supreme Soviet should simply adopt a decision on redistributing plenary powers now. In this situation, yes, I, perhaps, even voiced such a desire. Properly speaking, I have such a desire, and I know that I have abilities in this respect with a view to rebuilding a system of running the national economy. Therefore, when they came to me, I said, well, I would go into government with the greatest pleasure.

### Russia Insists on Political Union for Republics

*OW0810232691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2210 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[From the "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy emphasized once again on Tuesday that he is in favor of immediately entering into a political union with the former Soviet republics. In his words, only after such a deed would it be possible "to strengthen such a union by economic agreements."

The majority of republics insist on signing an economic agreement first of all, and fear Russian political domination, as Russia has already stated its intention to inherit the legacy of the Soviet Union.

### Minister Dunayev Interviewed on MVD Tasks

*PM0810111491 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Oct 91 p 3*

[Interview with Internal Affairs Minister Andrey Fedorovich Dunayev by Kirill Gorlov; place and date not given: "New Appointment: The General Who Arrested the Marshal"]

[Text] Russia's new minister of Internal Affairs, Andrey Fedorovich Dunayev, has been presented at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. He gave one of his first interviews to ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA.

[Gorlov] Tell us a little about yourself. You have been working in the militia organs for....

[Dunayev] ...34 years on 20 September. At the age of 17 I went to the Alma-Ata Secondary Specialized Militia School. I was superintendent at the Kustanay Oblast Internal Affairs Administration. The situation at that time was very complex, I had to investigate the much-publicized case of the murder of a family of Chechens actually at a rayon militia station. But after a few years I needed a change of climate—the local asbestos combine was affecting me and my nose was bleeding. After graduating from the USSR MVD Higher Militia School I became chief of criminal investigations in Chechen-Ingushetia. I graduated from the USSR MVD Academy with distinction. I worked as deputy minister of internal affairs in Dagestan. That was during the period of the formation of the notorious Soviet mafia, and the first cases of procurement workers being "beaten into submission" were occurring....

Then I was chief of the Vologda Oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] Internal Affairs Administration, and studied at the Moscow Higher Legal Correspondence School. Finally, I was appointed to the post of deputy minister for personnel. I am married. I have two sons—one is a militia captain in the Moscow Oblast Main Administration of Internal Affairs, the other is studying to be a lawyer at Kaliningrad University.

[Gorlov] Andrey Fedorovich, you started this working week as republic minister of internal affairs, and this was preceded by the "presentation" procedure. What does this consist of?

[Dunayev] It is all quite simple. The Council of Ministers and Ivan Stepanovich Silayev personally presented me to the Russian president as a candidate for the post of minister. The president, in turn, issued a decree, and Lobov and Barannikov presented me to the personnel.

[Gorlov] In view of your professional experience, and in particular your previous post, which was by no means rank and file, you can hardly be said to be a new boy in the MVD leadership structure. Today, however, there is an increasing trend toward the participation of purely civilian officials in the administration of the MVD and KGB. What is your view of this matter?

[Dunayev] Of the 500 posts in the Russian MVD nomenklatura, approximately 130 were manned by representatives of the party and soviet apparatus—not by lawyers or specialists. I was the first to come out against this.

[Gorlov] Let us be more concrete—after all, today this question affects the capital most of all.

[Dunayev] Given the political situation that has developed in Moscow since the putsch and the fact that we are introducing a new structure for the internal affairs organs in Moscow, I support the idea that at the present moment the militia should be commanded by a political figure.

Myrikov was a fine specialist, a professional, but then 19 August came along.... Why were Barannikov and I forced to bring in militia detachments when there was a collective of nearly 100,000 here in Moscow? That is one question. And now we are making much of the question of combating crime, but we simply cannot manage without the population's help. So who is best equipped to mobilize society's forces for the struggle against crime? Komissarov, a strictly professional specialist, or someone who has experience of the political struggle and enjoys prestige not only in his own circle?

The new structure proposes services within the Main Administration of Internal Affairs system which can only be headed by specialists. The criminal militia service, which concentrates all the main militia forces in its hands: the Criminal Investigations Department, the Department for the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation—and the chief of this service is first deputy chief of the Main Administration of Internal Affairs. And the second main service is public security, which will be responsible for order in the streets—leadership of the patrol and post service and the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment]. But the whole system should be led by a politician today.

Moscow is undermanned to the tune of more than 6,000 men. For comparison: Only just over 3,000 people work in the entire criminal investigations system. I cannot promise Muscovites order without a radical restructuring of the militia.

[Gorlov] And whom would you personally find it easier to work with?

[Dunayev] I take your point. It is easier to find a common language with a professional. But how much conflict can you tolerate? Komissarov has now become an instrument in the struggle between Moscow City Soviet and the Mayor's Office, and the Moscow militia has been without a leader for 11 months. That is why I signed the orders appointing Murashov chief of the Moscow Main Administration of Internal Affairs and General Komissarov Russian first deputy minister of internal affairs.

[Gorlov] Many people today are wondering how relations will develop between the Russian MVD and the internal affairs ministries of what are now sovereign republics and were formerly autonomous formations within the RSFSR.

[Dunayev] A difficult question. It is impossible to conduct a successful struggle against crime in any republic in isolation, particularly in Russia. After all, we have no borders. As for national feelings, I can understand them—I am a Mordvinian by nationality.

The position and rights of the minister are clearly defined in law. On professional questions we are fully responsible for monitoring and inspecting the republics. We have retained subordination and mutual respect. This was demonstrated, in particular, by the events of 19-21 August. There were some excesses, of course. For instance, the internal affairs minister of Chechen-Ingushetia, despite a personal warning from me, issued Pugo's order to all the rayon departments for implementation. They now want to make him virtually a national hero because he supposedly refused to use troops to rout a peaceful rally in Groznyy. Yet he called the Russian MVD several times and demanded that they send in the troops! Nobody would give him any troops.

[Gorlov] What do you see as the guarantee of the Russian MVD's independence of central organs?

[Dunayev] The guarantee lies first and foremost in the Russian Declaration of Independence, which states clearly that the RSFSR MVD collaborates with the USSR MVD. There are many questions that have not yet been resolved between us and the Union MVD, but I think the "Russian spirit" has now been transferred to the Union ministry apparatus, and we will really be able to collaborate.

[Gorlov] During the August events, were you directly involved in the arrest of the putschists?

[Dunayev] That day I was due to fly to the Crimea on vacation. Our departmental sanatorium is literally 10 km from Foros. But naturally I had to cut short my leave. I contacted General Rusnak, chief of the Crimean Oblast Internal Affairs Administration. He said: "According to our information, Gorbachev is alive, but there is no communication with him." I immediately conveyed this message to Rutskoy.

Even earlier, during the extraordinary congress, when the troops surrounded the Kremlin, I heard through a comrade that Yeltsin and even Gorbachev might be removed. But then the apparatchiks lost their heads....

Later I signed the telegram summoning students from the militia schools to Moscow, and monitored their arrival. In particular, I had a very unpleasant discussion with Myrikov, when several Moscow militia detachments went to meet the Orel students: "Bear in mind that there are 200 men in each detachment, and I will order them to shoot if you make difficulties, and they will fight their way into Moscow, but you personally will be responsible for every drop of blood...."

There was a struggle for influence, and naturally Barannikov supported me. When the detachments arrived, we received a report from Rutskoy's assistant, Valentin Perfilyev, that Yanayev intended to fly out on one of the planes (number 65503). We decided to seize the plane. Tanks were moving along the Leningrad highway, so we sped along the sidewalks at 80 km an hour to Vnukovo. The plane was quickly located, with the help of the deputy chief of the Vnukovo militia. Seeing our group, the guard scattered. Out of that group I formed the detachment that accompanied Rutskoy and Silayev to their talks with Gorbachev. It has recently emerged that there was a plan to shoot down their plane....

Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin rendered us a very valuable service. We knew that some 80 members of the guard had flown out with Plekhanov and that there was a large detachment in Foros, too. There were only 24 of us, although they included European shooting champions and unarmed combat instructors from the Ryazan Higher Militia School. With me was the Afghan veteran Colonel Vyacheslav Bricheyev, and I myself, in the course of my service, have personally detained at least 1,000 criminals. But Bakatin made the most important suggestion. Pretend, he said, that you are not the entire detachment (half the people there were colonels), you are only the command, and the rest of the people are following you. We worked out five possible scenarios in all, but that was the one that we used.

We arrived at a military airfield, there were no communications, we stayed to guard our plane, having agreed with Rutskoy that if there was the slightest indication that they were not coming back, we would launch an independent attack and find a way to rescue them.

We somehow found a car, a major of aviation helped us, and together with Bricheyev and Sterligov I set off for the nearest rayon militia department, in Sevastopol-Severnyy. From there I was able to contact Georgiy Rusnak, the general, and he issued the order to concentrate forces in Alupka. If necessary, I would have gone to Alupka and begun independent action from there. Thank heavens, this plan was not needed.

After about two hours Gorbachev's guards appeared, five or six young guys. I could see how exhausted they were, but I would not allow them onto the plane without Rutskoy's orders.

The presidential plane, which was standing alongside us (Yazov, Baklanov, Tizyakov and their crew had flown in on it), was guarded by Plekhanov's personal bodyguard and some military men. But we "liberated" it quite quickly. Rutskoy arrived on the scene with 12 guys in one "Volga" (four of them were sitting in the trunk).

The tensest time was on the plane, we could not decide when to arrest the putschists, because the guard was still armed, and if shooting had begun and the paneling of the plane had been pierced, we would all have been dead. "All's well that ends well," as the saying goes.

When I approached Yazov he turned around and, still not believing what was happening, said in a deep voice: "Looks like I'm being arrested." We arrested all of them, but the prosecutor let Baklanov go—he was a deputy. The same night Barannikov and I took the whole gang to Council of Ministers dachas in Senezh, and no one knew that except Yeltsin.

[Gorlov] And in conclusion, how was your first day as minister?

[Dunayev] You know, I did not even notice it, because since Barannikov's appointment I have in effect been acting minister.

The main thing I want to say is that I am very lucky, not because I have become minister, but because I have a team that has been 100-percent tested. I have no worries about the Russian militia.

## 'Democratic Russia' Leaders Criticize Yeltsin

*PM0810150791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Oct 91 Union Edition p 2*

[Interview with Yuriy Afanasyev, Gleb Yakunin, and Lev Ponomarev, cochairmen of the "Democratic Russia" Movement Coordination Council, by observer Valeriy Vyzhutovich; place and date not given; first paragraph is introduction: "We Give Yeltsin Qualified Support"]

[Text] "Democratic Russia" helped Yeltsin to come to power. Its large meetings, demonstrations, and strikes in Moscow, Leningrad, and many other cities of Russia with variable success but persistently and unyieldingly cleared a political space for the future president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. This movement, which includes various parties and hundreds of thousands of nonparty people, a movement which has its own parliamentary bloc (about 400 deputies), had until 19 August acted as the main opposition force. The democrats' advent to power, the elimination of the CPSU from the political arena, the complete departyization of the state structures, and the reforms initiated in the army and KGB seemingly exhausted the full volume of "Democratic Russia's" tasks. But having celebrated victory the movement, in the shape of its leader, is still in no hurry to announce its self-dissolution. And the question arises: If there is a movement, then where is it going?

[Afanasyev] Indeed, the aims we set a year ago have been achieved. After all, we were united by the active rejection of the totalitarian system with the undivided power of the CPSU and the KGB, MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], and army which stand guard over its interests. That is, the activity of "Democratic Russia" until the August events was primarily of a destructive nature. If that word frightens you I shall put it another way: dismantling. The dismantling of the previous system of power—we sought that and achieved it.

[Ponomarev] I would not say we have achieved it completely. Only the summit has been cut away, the roots are still there. In the provinces power still belongs to the old nomenklatura. There is a rapid regrouping of conservative forces. That is why it is quite impossible to consider we have finally put an end to the communist regime. Only the first stage has been covered.

[Vyzhutovich] How do you see the second stage?

[Afanasyev] We must now set ourselves constructive tasks. What is Russia to be like? What is it to be like from the viewpoint of state structure, economy, and mutual relations with other states? On these issues we differ with some democratic parties.

[Vyzhutovich] What are these differences? How fundamental are they? Quarrels among the democrats are the best gift to the reaction. Is it not time to clear up your relations?

[Yakunin] "Democratic Russia" was united in its resolute rejection of totalitarianism. The parties which belong to it united on the platform of rejecting the bolshevik world order, we had no differences there. The differences appeared only when a positive program was required. For instance, we do not share the viewpoint of the "People's Accord" ["Narodnoye Soglasiye"] bloc—which consists of part of the Constitutional Democrats, Travkin's party, and the Christian Democrats—regarding the future Russian statehood. In their programs we sense a certain taste for sovereign power. They see Russia almost within the borders of the former USSR. Something very close to the unconsidered statement by Yeltsin's press secretary: If a republic leaves the union, the question of the revision of borders may be raised. A very dangerous position. The majority of members of the movement reject it. We are prepared to defend the national interests of all peoples of Russia without making any territorial claims on anyone. Our principle is the inviolability of borders. At least for the transitional period.

[Vyzhutovich] What is your attitude toward the Movement for Democratic Reforms?

[Afanasyev] Vladimir Lysenko, one of the leaders of the Republican Party, believes that "Democratic Russia" should merge with this movement. We are against it. "Democratic Russia" as a bloc of political parties has outlived its usefulness. A different prospect is opening up before it—expressing and representing the interests of civil society in the period of creation.

[Vyzhutovich] And the Movement for Democratic Reforms does not represent the interests of civil society?

[Yakunin] It expresses the interests of the big industrial leaders, the ruling clique of the military-industrial complex, scientific circles, and the elite section of the technical and creative intelligentsia. But Zhirinovskiy's party, for instance, and to some extent Travkin's party on the contrary attract the lumpen elements who agree to guaranteed poverty. So we do not consider it possible to unite with either the former or the latter politicians. We intend to represent the interests of the emergent middle class—cooperative members, lessees, entrepreneurs, and also employees and the broad strata of the intelligentsia.

[Afanasyev] There is also an extreme right-wing flank—Nina Andreyeva, the "Marxist Platform in the CPSU," and the "Communist Initiative." Behind them are the partyocracy, the state apparatus officials, and the generals.

[Ponomarev] These are the most reactionary parties and movements. They are supported by people who are nostalgic for a firm hand, and we still have millions of such people. They are the social base for a new coup, which could begin from below....

[Vyzhutovich] ...if democratic power engages thoroughly in the partition and redistribution of the property confiscated from the CPSU instead of the immediate implementation of economic reforms and the speediest normalization of the financial system. For instance, are you not perturbed by talk of the birth of a new nomenklatura in no way better than the previous one?

[Ponomarev] I am very perturbed. Passions are being fueled around the deputies appointed by Yeltsin to represent the administration in the provinces. At a recent "Democratic Russia" plenum the participants in the movement from various cities cited examples of bad appointments to these posts. The Russian president's representatives include, alas, familiar faces—the same party officials who long ago compromised themselves in the eyes of local inhabitants. These people were until recently the democrats' political target. And now we have this surprise.

[Vyzhutovich] How do you explain the Russian president's choice?

[Ponomarev] How Yeltsin himself explains his choice is far more interesting. He believes that the partyocrats he is appointing know their job and are skilled organizers irrespective of their political convictions. It was in approximately the same terms that Popov explained his appointment to a high post of Nikolskiy, a former party functionary involved in the Tbilisi events in April 1989. You understand that a conflict is developing between Yeltsin and the democratic movement which brought him to power. So far we have not succeeded in averting this conflict. For a month now we have been seeking a meeting with Boris Nikolayevich. Alas, he has become inaccessible.

[Yakunin] It seems to us that Yeltsin is strongly influenced by his entourage. The president's administration is headed by Yuriy Petrov, former first secretary of the Sverdlovsk Obkom [oblast committee], who took over this post from Yeltsin. Boris Nikolayevich's entourage also includes people like Lobov, Ilyushin, and Tsaregorodtsev—the all came from the Sverdlovsk Communist Youth League and party nomenklatura. The influence of, for instance, Petrov on Yeltsin is very reminiscent of Boldin's influence on Gorbachev. It is not out of the question that the Russian president's administration is wielding a shadow power in his name. If that is so major upheavals await us again.

[Vyzhutovich] Do you want members of "Democratic Russia" to represent power locally?

[Afanasyev] This need does not come from the leadership of the movement. It is being voiced by activists on the periphery. Probably we need a procedure for agreements between the president and us when appointing people to leading posts.

[Vyzhutovich] Are you sure that Yeltsin needs your advice and recommendations?

[Yakunin] We believe that if "Democratic Russia" helped Yeltsin come to power it has the right to claim some posts in the city hall, in the prefectures, and in the administration in Moscow and locally. It is true that Popov has given the post of chief of the Moscow KGB to Yevgeniy Sevastyanov and the post of chief of the capital's militia to Arkadiy Murashev. Although Arkadiy could have claimed at least the post of minister or deputy prime minister.

[Vyzhutovich] You invested political capital in Yeltsin and are now demanding interest on that capital?

[Afanasyev] Our position regarding the new democratic authorities is one of qualified support. We are not supporters of the new authorities, as Burbulis tries to put it, but fellow fighters. Where the program goals of "Democratic Russia" and the new leadership coincide, we shall act together. But the movement may also take shape as an organized opposition if, for instance, the strengthening of executive power at the expense of representative power continues with the complete paralysis of legal power.

[Ponomarev] And, no less alarming, antagonism is taking shape between the new power and the democrats as a result of the violation of universally recognized political ethics.

[Yakunin] I do not care about the frills as long as we survive. I am prepared to close my eyes to the excessive strengthening of executive power, I am prepared temporarily to come to terms with the fact that we have no constitutional court. As long as executive power is effective.

[Afanasyev] Gleb Pavlovich, that leads straight to bolshevism.

[Yakunin] No. If we have taken power we must implement it, even by tough methods, for the benefit of society.

[Afanasyev] It leads straight back! Straight back!

[Vyzhutovich] Are you depriving the president's deputies of your support because they are "the wrong people," or because you are frightened by the trend toward the strengthening of executive power at the expensive of representational power?

[Afanasyev] Primarily it is the trend which worries us. The plenum of the council of representatives of "Democratic Russia" noted this trend and did not support it. Incidentally, this trend has been inherent in Soviet society at all historical stages since 1917. It has always led to authoritarianism. Because of the present imbalance between between executive and representational power there is no time for economic reforms. This imbalance is the main topic of our present opposition to the new nomenklatura.

[Ponomarev] No, Yuriy Nikolayevich, were our representatives in the localities we would support a strong executive power. And then I would agree with Gleb Pavlovich that there is no time for standing on ceremony. Distributing land and carrying out privatization in industry and trade at a revolutionary pace.... Acting as Yeltsin acted during the coup. Yes, a number of his decrees adopted in that critical situation are of an anticonstitutional nature. But I would call them brilliant. They accorded absolutely with the political requirement. That is, we must be pragmatists. It is true that the question arises: As of what date can we demand legality?

[Vyzhutovich] For bolsheviks that date has not come in over 70 years. You think your experience in this matter will be nobler? Having transgressed the law once or twice out of considerations of revolutionary expediency, you can no longer stop. Or are you sure you can?

[Yakunin] As a man with a career as a dissident I was convinced long ago that the carrot is always more dangerous than the stick for the truth, for the defense of the truth. During the days when the stick threatened the entire country Yeltsin adopted outstanding laws. But we won—and the danger of moral erosion in politics arose. Boris Nikolayevich is making major mistakes today. Instead of continuing the implementation of reforms with the aid and support of the Russian Supreme Soviet, Yeltsin has turned to the recommendations of his closest entourage. But the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies should have been urgently convened, as Gorbachev did, by assembling the congress of Union deputies. I am sure that many problems, primarily constitutional problems, would have been resolved at this congress.

[Afanasyev] Let us sum up. In considering today's mutual relations between "Democratic Russia" and Yeltsin we shall bear in mind that there should be a distance between society and power. After all, our Russian trouble has always been that power has subordinated society or absorbed it. The border between society and power could not be felt. Balanced state building is in fact designed to establish an order whereby power serves society and society can express itself and submit and formulate its interests to the authorities. It is toward the establishment of this essential distance that "Democratic Russia" is now striving. It is trying to find itself as an independent, autonomous political movement expressing the interests of a civil society with regard to the authorities.

[Ponomarev] Wait. If "Democratic Russia" is a political organization then naturally it has the right to claim that its representatives possess power and merge with it.

[Afanasyev] Now, there should be no merging. As there is no merging in America, for instance, where Democrats are in power but the Democratic Party criticizes that power. We also need this distance between power and the party.

## KGB Confers With Republics' Security Organs

*PM0910080991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Oct 91 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Republic and Collective Security"]

[Text] The Russian KGB will have its own intelligence and counterintelligence services. It sees combating organized crime, unconstitutional actions, and terrorism as an important function.

Talks are currently being held with the state security committees of republics that have proclaimed their sovereignty on the creation of an interrepublican collective security body. The relevant agreements are expected to be signed in the next two or three months.

## Yaroshenko on Integration Into World Economy

*LD0910051291 Moscow TASS in English 1216 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Text] Moscow October 8 TASS—"The foreign trade should be rid of artificial tangles," said Viktor Yaroshenko, the Russian minister of foreign economic relations. In an interview with weekly PRAVITELSTVENNY VESTNIK (THE GOVERNMENT HERALD), he said that the ministry has prepared a draft package of functions to liberalise foreign economic activity. The document envisages, specifically, reducing to the minimum the formalities during the registration of enterprises as participants in foreign economic relations. "Ideally, there should be no registration. Each enterprise should have a legal right to do business with foreign partners."

Asked about new forms of foreign economic activity planned to be developed in Russia, the minister said it would be useful to recall positive experience to concessions. "We should face the truth that with our huge potential we are not an economic superpower."

The minister believes that free trade zones in Russia have a promising future. "Hovewer, they will not determine the main direction of the development of enterprise in the republic. In principle, we must not allow the setting up of enclaves that would contrast to the principle of the functioning of national economy as a whole. The present reality should not be disregarded either. Our enterprises have little experience of economic management in conditions of a market. Such zones could serve for trying out methods of the market and their setting up in some cities and districts should probably be regarded as justifiable," the minister said.

## Academician Outlines Plan for Russia's Recovery

*PM0910080791 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Oct 91 First Edition p 1*

[Interview with academician V. Lisichkin by unidentified TASS correspondent; place and date not given; first paragraph is introduction: "Stressing [Russia's] Own Potential"]

[Text] "Russia possesses all the necessary conditions and possibilities for renewal on the basis of its own development resources and by entering the international market on suitable partnership principles,"—this is how academician V. Lisichkin assessed the current economic situation in conversation with the TASS correspondent.

[Correspondent] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, Germany, Japan, and other countries overcame their crises according to their own models. Many programs exist in our country too, including your own. How does yours differ from the others?

[Lisichkin] In drafting the concept we analyzed many national models of renewal. At root they all represent different interpretations of the Marshall Plan, and their chief characteristic is an emphasis on attracting foreign loans. Our plan proposes reviving the country by reliance on our own potential.

[Correspondent] What are its basic directions?

[Lisichkin] Extensive exploitation of Russia's scientific and technical potential through setting up a network of interconnected joint-stock "technology parks" on the territory of the leading industrially developed countries. Russia's contribution will be know-how, inventions and discoveries. These will readily be exploited by foreign stockholders for technological advance in the spheres of their special interests. At the same time there is a proposal to set up branches in various regions of the republic for the transfer of new technology, devised at home and introduced abroad.

[Correspondent] From your point of view, what are the man obstacles on the road to the market at the moment?

[Lisichkin] Today it is possible to speak of a crisis in Russian legislation, which lags far behind modern world trends.

[Correspondent] In that case, what do you propose?

[Lisichkin] World experience in conjunction with Russia's specific attributes enables us to determine the optimum mechanism for the accelerated creation of a legal basis. In order to realize such an approach within the framework of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, it is necessary to organize permanent teams of foreign and Russian experts.

[Correspondent] Reliance on world experience is essential, but what is required from Russia itself?

[Lisichkin] In addition to the general processes of destatization and privatization and the conversion of all links [zvenyeva] to a system of economic accountability, our main efforts should be directed toward setting up efficient enterprises.

The second fundamental condition for Russia's entry into the world community is getting rid of the burden of debts. Russia's debts (more than $60 billion out of the USSR's total debts of $77 billion) should be redistributed [pereraspredeleny].

[Correspondent] The leaders of 12 former Union republics agreed in Alma-Ata on the need to sign economic agreements between themselves as quickly as possible. What is your opinion on this subject?

[Lisichkin] The signing of treaties depends on three conditions being fulfilled. First, the republics must realize that destroying the existing economic space benefits no one. Second, it is necessary to understand that economic interests should not be sacrificed to political ambitions. [no third condition defined]

### Trade Unions Threaten Protest Work Stoppages

*LD0910095491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0900 GMT 9 Oct 91*

[Text] According to the press service of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, the presidium of the Federation council has decided to hold autumn days of unity of action by Russian trade unions from 21 to 26 October in defense of the rights and interests of the working people in conditions of transferring to the market. If there is no reaction from state organs to the trade unions' demands, the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia will organize an all-Russian protest action in the form of a one-hour work stoppage by enterprises, organizations and establishments on 13 November.

## Media

### SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Denies Closure

*PM0710201691 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Oct 91 Single Edition p 1*

[Editorial collegium address to readers: "To Our Readers, on the Subject of the Reports of the Closure of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA"]

[Text] Urgent necessity induces us, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's editorial collegium, to appeal to you today, dear readers. You see, in recent days yet another unworthy campaign has been launched against our paper. The pages of several publications have again been featuring fabrications, totally without foundation, about SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's involvement in the August putsch.

On 3 October Russian Radio joined in this slander campaign, and Central Television joined in on 4 October. Its first channel broadcast a news report, identical to the one which ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA carried in its 4 October issue under the headline "Curtains for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA?" The report says: "Yesterday Sverdlovskiy Rayon People's Court in Moscow City accepted a petition from the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Ministry of the Press and Mass Media for the cessation of the publication of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA on the grounds that in the course of the year it has repeatedly violated Article 5 of the first section of the USSR Press Law."

Unfortunately, our colleagues from Russian Radio, Central Television, and ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA have made use of unreliable information. Yesterday morning we contacted O.V. Sergeyeva, deputy chairman of Sverdlovskiy Rayon People's Court in Moscow, and asked her to comment on the report that was being circulated. This is what she said:

"Yes, our court did indeed receive such a petition. Acceptance of the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Media's complaint was refused by a court ruling of 3 October 1991. We considered that the authors of the complaint had applied to the wrong quarter in addressing it to us. According to Article 3 of the RSFSR Civil Procedural Code, the court examines only disputed questions. In the case in question there is no dispute involved, since by virtue of Article 13 of the USSR Law "On the Press and Other Mass Media," the plaintiff is legally vested with the right to halt the issue or publication of the mass media publication, inasmuch as it (the plaintiff) is the organ which registered the mass media publication in question. On the basis of the foregoing, the dispute is not liable to examination in the court."

As we can see, the people's court did not accept the complaint of the Ministry of the Press and Mass Media, but some people wanted to deliberately mislead public opinion. There is no doubt either about why this is being done. To give at least the semblance of legality to yet another attempt to settle scores with SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

So that the substance of the claims made against us should be clearer to the reader, we reproduce here in full section one of Article 5—"The Impermissibility of Misuse of Freedom of Speech"—of the USSR Law "On the Press and Other Mass Media":

"The law forbids the use of the mass media for divulging information which constitutes a state secret, or any other secret specially protected by the Law; for appealing for the overthrow, or for any other change in the existing state and social system, by violence; for the propaganda of war, violence, cruelty, racial, national, or religious separatism or intolerance; for disseminating pornography; or for the purposes of performing any action liable to criminal punishment."

We categorically deny any involvement whatever on the part of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in violating any of the provisions listed in the law. Not one of our articles in the last year gives grounds for accusing the paper or its writers of misuse of freedom of speech. How can there be any talk whatsoever of repeated violations of Article 5 of the Press Law? This is especially inexplicable now, when the paper's legal position has been fully clarified. Under RSFSR President B.N. Yeltsin's decree of 11 September 1991 "On Measures To Protect the Freedom of the Press in the RSFSR," the measures "regarding the suspension of the newspapers PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, GLASNOST, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, MOSKOVSKAYA TRIBUNA, and LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA" are deemed to have expired. Under the same decree, incidentally, the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Media has the duty imposed on it of "ensuring the full restoration of the principle of freedom of the press."

Obviously, it is not superfluous at this point to make a number of further clarifications. After the suspension of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, the Sverdlovskiy Rayon Prosecutor's Office in Moscow City carried out an examination into its activities and those of other editorial offices in the days of the August putsch.

"We indeed attempted to find in articles in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA calls for the overthrow of the constitutional system by violence, and other breaches of the Law," P.M. Bakhun, deputy rayon prosecutor, told to us. "But no grounds to prosecute the paper or its writers were discovered. The results of the examination were sent to the appropriate authority—the city prosecutor's office."

Alas, for the zealous "witch-hunters," neither the opinions of lawyers, nor a presidential decree, it seems, is binding. They are continuing to persecute the paper and its staffers for their convictions, for the fact that they bring people honest and objective information about the life of the country and the world.

Today, increasing numbers of our colleagues are, whether deliberately or not, joining in the shameful victimization of the newspaper, its employees, and the democratically elected leadership of its editorial offices.

It is no accident that a campaign of lies and slander against us is being conducted at this time. Its orchestrators, one must assume, hope not only to put psychological pressure on our journalists, but also to shake the confidence of readers in an independent, people's newspaper, to stop subscriptions to it, and thereby deprive the working people of Russia of their true defender and mouthpiece. Let us hope that nothing comes of this disgraceful venture.

## Local Affairs

### Chechen-Ingush Situation Remains Tense

#### Ingushis Oppose Partition

*OW0810134991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An Ingush congress closed in Groznyy, the capital of the Chechen-Ingush Republic, on October 7, in the course of which 975 delegates and 200 nonvoting attendees from all over the USSR had discussed what to do with the republican sovereignty and with the autonomies. The resolution they passed specifies that until the Ingush republic retrieves the lands it had lost, it would be premature to proclaim it a full-fledged state. Part of the more radical Ingush activists hastened to proclaim the republic an autonomy, and in response the Chechen congress proclaimed own republic and began to issue decrees in its name. An overwhelming majority of the Ingush delegates declared that the Chechen and the Ingush lands cannot or, at the very least, should not be now divided to form separate state entities. According to them, a decision in this vein would be possible after the territory that was transferred to North Ossetia in 1944 be returned to the Ingushes.

The congress set up an Ingush National Council to coordinate the resolution of national problems. An address has been adopted to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president, Russian parliament and Russian peoples.

In the meantime, the six-storey KGB building in Groznyy remains in the hands of the republican guards who had seized

#### Rutskoy on Disarming 'Gang'

*LD0810231191 Moscow Radio Rossii Radio Network in Russian 2200 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Text] The so-called group of revolutionaries headed by Major General Dzhafar Dudayev is a gang which is terrorizing the population, Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy stated. In his words, Dudayev has declared a holy war for an independent Islamic Chechen state. In Groznyy Dudayev's unit, which numbers about 250 men, has seized the television center, the KGB building, and a number of other sites. On the morning of 8 October fighters seized a hotel and arrested the republic's procurator Aleksandr Pushkin.

In the opinion of Rutskoy and a number of members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the situation in the region has been inspired by the leadership of Georgia to create a federal republic of the Northern Caucasus. These suspicions are based on the fact that emissaries from the trans-Caucasian republics are constantly to be found in Checheno-Ingushetia and arms are being actively supplied from Georgia.

I consider that intervention by the appropriate bodies and forces which are capable of disarming this gang is essential, Aleksandr Rutskoy said.

### Events Termed 'Unmanageable'

*PM0910140491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Oct 91 Union Edition pp 1-2*

[Report by correspondent A. Kazikhanov: "Situation in Chechen-Ingushetia Becoming Unmanageable"]

[Text] Groznyy—The provisional supreme council [vremennyy vysshiy sovet] of Chechen-Ingushetia has declared itself the sole supreme organ of power throughout the territory of the former autonomous republic.

Immediately after the enforced resignation of the Chechen-Ingush Republic Supreme Soviet and its Presidium, the provisional supreme council was set up in the republic. It has 32 members, representatives of all the peoples living in Chechen-Ingushetia. The council's mission is to formulate new laws on the presidency and on parliamentary elections and, of course, to govern the country during the interregnum.

However, from the first days of its work the provisional supreme council came up against attempts by the executive committee of the All-National Chechen Congress—organizer of the resignation of the parliament and Presidium—to control the council. As a result some members of the provisional supreme council publicly renounced their duties, while some took no part in joint work at all. The further escalation of tension in the republic, and, most important, the seizure of the KGB building and the attempted attack on the republic MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] forced the provisional supreme council to take resolute action.

"The All-National Chechen Congress Executive Committee has violated agreements with the Chechen-Ingush republic provisional supreme council," a provisional supreme council appeal to the peoples of the republic says, "armed formations are on the rampage, the premises of state organs have been seized, unconstitutional resolutions, some of them inciting interethnic conflict, have been published, and television and radio are being used to discredit people who do not find favor with the executive committee. In view of the fact that the provisional supreme council is the sole organ of power, possessing the powers of the Chechen-Ingush republic supreme soviet, its members appeal to the peoples of Chechen-Ingushetia not to permit a further escalation of antidemocratic processes."

The provisional supreme council put a proposal to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet that the legal status of the Chechen-Ingush republic provisional supreme council be recognized constitutionally. The appeal calls on people not to participate in the unconstitutional elections which the All-National Chechen Congress Executive Committee has set for 19 October, that is, a month earlier than had been agreed by all sides.

A mass rally of Chechen-Ingush republic provisional supreme council supporters was held in Kirov Park, at which the actions of the All-National Chechen Congress Executive Committee were condemned. In response the executive committee called the provisional supreme council members enemies of the people, deeming that action to be a counterrevolutionary coup, and declared the disbandment of the Chechen-Ingush republic provisional supreme council.

People here associate the stepping up of the activities of the Chechen-Ingush republic provisional supreme council with the arrival of RSFSR Vice President A. Rutskoy, who held difficult talks with the executive committee leadership. Many people are inclined to blame the upper echelons of power in Russia for what is happening. They welcomed the ousting of the parliament and the Chechen-Ingush Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium (which supported the State Committee for the State of Emergency), but failed to notice that the situation had subsequently become unmanageable and gone beyond reasonable limits: The All-National Chechen Congress Executive Committee failed to respond to the Russian parliamentarians' request to disband unlawful armed detachments, and assessed RSFSR Supreme Soviet Acting Chairman R. Khasbulatov's call to adhere to "honestly formulated decisions regarding the future elections" of the parliament and president of the Chechen-Ingush republic as interference in the affairs of a sovereign republic.

The Third Congress of the Ingush People has also been held in recent days. It decided to form an Ingush People's Council, which will exist until the election of the Chechen-Ingush Republic Supreme Soviet. The congress declared Chechen-Ingushetia to be indivisible. The People's Council, implementing the RSFSR Law "On the Rehabilitation of Repressed Peoples," will seek the return of lands in Prigorodnyy Rayon and part of the city of Vladikavkaz, which were taken away in 1944 after the deportation of the Ingush and transferred to neighboring North Ossetia.

### Muslim Congress Ends 6 Oct

*LD0810155891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2210 GMT 6 Oct 91*

[By TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, 6 Oct—Not only the atheists, but also everyone in Checheno-Ingushetia who believes in God still have no leading bodies. The Congress of Muslims of this republic, which has been taking place for two days, has ended in Groznyy without having elected a mufti and members of the spiritual government. It was decided that all the learned theologians of the mountainous region should assemble in the near future and elect an

organizing committee which will elect spiritual leaders from among its own number.

Dzhakhar Dudayev, leader of the Chechen National Movement, spoke at the Congress. Under his leadership the republic's bodies of power were brought down a month ago and intense work is now in hand to form new structures of authority. At one time some of the republic's clergy, meeting at the initiative of people clutching at leaders' places, strongly condemned the policy of Dzhakhar Dudayev. But today the hall listened with immense attention to his passionate speech in defense of the sovereign rights of the people.

### Dispute Over Murashev Appointment Surfaces

*PM0910082591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Oct 91 First Edition p 2*

[Report by Yevgeniy Skukin: "Laws Are Written by People... But Are They Interpreted by Them as Well?"]

[Text] Arkadiy Murashev, appointed to the post of chief of the Main Internal Affairs Administration but not confirmed by the Moscow City Soviet, said a paradoxical thing at yesterday's briefing:

"On the path to a rule-of-law state we must discard Soviet legislation. In fact, in accordance with it, Yeltsin should be arrested and the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] people set free."

As you will have realized, no doubt, the conversation at 38 Petrovka Street was again about the legality of the appointment of its present boss. And the opponents, aside from journalists, were Yu. Sedykh-Bondarenko, deputy chairman of the Moscow City Soviet, A. Tsopov, chairman of the subcommission on fighting crime, and Deputy V. Dayneka.

In their view, A. Murashev's appointment is not even a different interpretation of the same laws by different people, as Arkadiy Nikolayevich claimed.

"Where law ends, tyranny starts," Yu. Sedykh-Bondarenko said. "We have as mayor a person who is putting Moscow's law enforcemnent bodies into the hands of politicians close to him, not into the hands of professionals."

A. Murashev noted that although he had displaced General Komissarov he did not feel that he was a "political commissar," since he had been recommended by a victorious force in the shape of the mayor. With his election, Arkadiy Nikolayevich believes, the procedure for the appointment of officials should be the same as at republic level—in fact, B. Yeltsin appoints them without Supreme Soviet approval.

### Moscow Opposition Parties To Form Coalition

*OW0810191491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1715 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Organizations and parties acting in opposition to the present government of Moscow will hold a meeting at the Krasnopresnensky District Soviet at 18:30 on October 10 to form a "coalition of Moscow's democratic forces" involving the Moscow chapters of the Democratic Party of Russia, the Republican Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Russian Christian Democratic Movement, and the Constitutional Democratic Party. The coalition may be joined by the Moscow branches of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic People's and Peasants' parties, the Moscow association DEMOCRATIC RUSSIA, and the Association of Voters of the Academy of Sciences.

### Moscow Branch of 'Democratic Russia' To Meet

*OW0810164391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The coming Saturday and Sunday [12 and 13 October] the Moscow branch of the movement "Democratic Russia" will hold a conference. This decision was taken on Monday by its council.

The conference is to endorse the final version of the movement's rules and elect delegates to the 2nd congress of "Democratic Russia" scheduled for November. Besides, it will discuss a report on the political situation in Moscow, an account by the leaders of the movement's Moscow branch as to their organization's activity during the August coup and its participation in the efforts to restructure municipal work in Moscow.

Speakers at the conference will represent different trends and platforms making up "Democratic Russia."

### First Tatarstan Democrats Congress Concludes

*OW0810190991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1715 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The first congress of Tatar democrats has ended in Almetyevsk. It was attended by activists of the Democratic Party of Russia, the Social Democratic Party of Tatarstan, the Social Democratic Party of Russia, the Democratic Party of Tatarstan's Peoples and the opposition faction NARODOVLASTIYE (People's Power) of the republic's parliament.

While the congress was in progress, 32 parliamentarians, politicians, entrepreneurs, and journalists issued a statement calling for the creation of a Democratic Reforms Movement of Tatarstan (DRMT) that could offer the

republic's president and parliament an effective program for transition to market relations.

The founding congress of the DRMT is due later this month.

## External Affairs

### Crimean Tatars Movement Meets on Housing Issues

*LD0810173491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0200 GMT 7 Oct 91*

[Text] The all-Union meeting of the National Movement of Crimean Tatars [Natsionalnoye Dvizheniye Krymskihk Tatar] continued on 6 October in Dzhankoy. Although this forum does not possess any official powers, the very fact that it is being held seems to have had an effect on the authorities of the Crimean republic. It has become known that an extraordinary session of the Saki town soviet decided to grant 800 plots of land to returning Crimean Tatars. During the past four years, only 540 plots were allocated. We cannot ensure an orderly return by the Crimean Tatars, complains Dzhankoy Mayor Vladimir Nesterov. We barely have enough time to sort out one group before the next arrive; we need to know the exact number of returnees; we propose building apartment blocks for them to solve this problem somehow. (Enver Abidulayev), an engineer from Tashkent who spoke at the meeting, believes that the problem lies not in apartment blocks but, as before, in obstacles being placed in the way of a return by the Crimean Tatars. A great deal depends on the administrators of a city or rayon; people often cannot buy a house because they do not have a residence permit; the hankering after the homeland is so great that our people are willing to return even to apartment blocks, said Abidulayev. In any case, according to an opinion poll held in Uzbekistan, 90 percent of Crimean Tatars simply do not have enough money saved to build their own houses.

## International Affairs

### Kozyrev Assesses Relations With Latvia

*OW0910011691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2015 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" program; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Assessing at DP's [Diplomatic Panorama] request the role of the protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Russia and Latvia, Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation Andrey Kozyrev agreed vith his colleague J. Jurkins who described the event as historic. Andrey Kozyrev said that history did not know too many examples whereby two states which previously belonged to one country part peacefully and immediately make steps to establish diplomatic relations. "We have no doubts that we'll tackle all problems, which we have in abundance, together," he said.

Andrey Kozyrev gave to understand that the Russian Federation looks at her relations with the other Baltic states—Lithuania and Estonia—from the same angle. In his opinion, these two states should deal with Russia as friends. "They are our neighbours with whom we have nothing to divide," Andrey Kozyrev said. "But there are many problems which we need to solve."

Among such problems, said Andrey Kozyrev, is that of guaranteeing human rights. He said that human rights and democratic norms should be turned from a slogan into reality. This problem, he said, is extremely acute in the Russian Federation and in the entire zone of the former Union. To solve it, we need to cooperate, Andrey Kozyrev said in conclusion.

### Russia Tables More Arms Reduction Proposals

*LD0810193691 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Report by S. Milyanchikov, including recorded remarks by Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, on meeting between Kozyrev and U.S. Under Secretary of State Reginald Bartholomew in Moscow; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] At a meeting between Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev and Bartholomew, U.S. under secretary of state, today, the Russian side tabled more radical proposals on reducing nuclear arms than those stated by the Union government.

[Kozyrev] Nuclear arms must not be distributed among national quarters. We are categorically against this. Therefore, all the proposals that have been stated have been made on behalf of the Russian leadership. This is our contribution to a common cause, so to speak, the cause of nuclear disarmament that has begun. They relate to our Soviet arsenal, too, which we do not regard... [changes thought] We do not require to have our control over this arsenal; however, we do not regard it as belonging to somebody else. This is precisely the arsenal which protects all of us.

[Milyanchikov] The Russian Government's proposals contain a decision on reducing the numerical strength of the Soviet Armed Forces by 700,000 people, and on halting all nuclear arms tests.

### Dispute Continues With Japan Over Kurils

#### Kurils Citizens Protest Return

*OW0810180191 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1030 GMT 6 Oct 91*

[Report by A. Perevozchikov; from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] [Begin recording] [Perevozchikov] Interpretations of the results of Ruslan Khasbulatov's visit to Japan, and then Grigoriy Yavlinskiy's interview with Kyodo Tsushin where he announced the necessity of returning the southern Kurils to Japan, were the reasons for agitation in Sakhalin.

A delegation of the Russian Government and parliament headed by Georgiy Kunadze, the republic's deputy foreign minister, visited the islands. The members of the delegation admitted in their appearances before the populace that it would be extremely difficult to win in talks with Japan. At the same time they assured the inhabitants of the Kurils that in case the islands are handed over, their economic and social rights will be well protected. Those living on the islands will be able to either stay and live here with the Japanese, or, having received a sizable compensation in foreign currency, will leave for any part of the country where accommodations will be made for them. [video shows crowds demonstrating; hand-held signs saying: "The problem of the northern territories must be decided by the inhabitants of the Kurils" and "Do not take our motherland from us"]

[Unidentified man] This is it; it is known in advance that the islands will be returned to Japan.

[Perevozchikov] So, you think that....

[Same man] [interrupting] Yes. According to what they say, that is how things are.

[Unidentified woman] Still, it is good that we are being warned about it in advance. I, for one, like their promising at least something to the Soviet people, to the Kuril people that is. It is not like they are going to deport us from here with a 40 kilogram allowance and a knapsack.

[Perevozchikov] The attitude of the delegation was severely critisized by Valentin Fyodorov, Chairman of the Sakhalin Oblast Executive Committee.

[Fyodorov] These are not pro-Japanese attitudes; these are purely Japanese attitudes. [end recording]

### Sakhalin Fishermen State Appeal

*LD0810185291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0354 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Belovitskiy]

[Text] Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, 8 Oct—"The fishing grounds are a supporting pillar of the Far East economy which will undoubtedly be destroyed if the South Kurils are handed over," says an appeal from the fishermen of Sakhalin to all inhabitants of Russia, and to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Presidium and Supreme Soviet.

In their view, a decision to hand over the South Kurils may be made by the people in a referendum and not as a result of covert maneuverings with the interests of the people of Russia by political timeservers. As a result of hasty action on the part of the government, every citizen of our country and not just of Russia could find himself short of 3 or 4 kg of fish out of the 18 kg which is reckoned to be the annual per capita nutritional requirement. Territorial concessions in return for temporary economic aid will bring catastrohpic consequences, and such amateurish policies can hardly be in Russia's interests, the document notes.

The fishermen of Sakhalin and the Kurils acknowledge the need for the total normalization and development of good-neighborly relations between Russia and Japan, and regard proposals to seek ways to exploit the territory's riches jointly in conditions of mutual benefit as acceptable.

### Kunadze Urges Solution

*LD0810163491 Moscow TASS in English 1527 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Geronin]

[Text] Moscow October 8 TASS—The character of bilateral relations between Japan and Russia is largely determined by Japan's claim to four southern islands of the Kuril chain—Iturup, Kunashir, Habomai and Shikotan. Approaches to the problem differ, even contradict each other. Still no one can deny the need to look for mutually acceptable versions of the solution to the problem by the two neighbouring countries which are destined to remain neighbours.

This is the viewpoint of the Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze, who says the territorial issue in relations between Japan and the Soviet Union, between Russia and Japan must be solved as it is unnatural to seek to avoid the solution of a problem which admittedly exists. "We must at long last draw a line under the Second World War," Kunadze told TASS.

To us, the solution of the problem would mean that civilized behaviour can prevail in world politics. There exist understanding reached by the Soviet Union and Japan in the past, and no state that has self-respect would ever go back on its word or violate commitments it made. Whoever is in charge of the problem—Russian or Union authorities—continuance of commitments, continuance of politics is a necessary condition. The territorial issue must be viewed in light of principles of law, justice and legality.

I am confident, the Russian deputy foreign minister said, that if we reach a conclusion, on the basis of independent analysis, that the islands belong to us by rights, no Japanese financial infusions will be able to convince us that the islands should be transferred to Japan. A converse situation is also possible: Japan does not give us anything but our independent analysis prompts the conclusion that all or at least some of the islands must be transferred to Japan. No matter how bitter it is, we shall have to say we must do what we should do. There can be

no compromise, because otherwise it would mean a compromise with one's own conscience, with one's own dignity.

Some public opinion leaders often disturb people's minds with visions of possibilities of an immediate settlement of the territorial issue. They picture a situation in which there is nothing today, a sit-together and talk-together tomorrow and then, on the day after tomorrow, the Japanese arrive on the islands to throw our people away.

This is a blatant and biased simplification, a parody of complex diplomatic talks which must take into account all components and make a complex analysis. When these talks will end is difficult to say, because they have not yet started in earnest. Incidentally, after agreements with Japan are reached, it will take much time, probably decades, to realize them.

At talks of whatever level, everywhere and always the Russian Government will act in the interests of Russian citizens. The public will be informed about all stages of these talks and all peripeteia. No matter how bitter the truth may be, we shall tell the people about it beforehand, before we make our decision, Kunadze said.

### Referendum Planned for German Region in Omsk

*LD0910083591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1730 GMT 7 Oct 91*

[Text] A referendum will be held in five rayons of Omsk Oblast on the question of setting up a German national rayon. (Bruno Reyter), chairman of the organizational committee for the creation of that rayon, told the Postfactum agency that the referendum will take place in Omskiy, Tavricheskiy, Shcherbakulskiy, Odesskiy, and Maryanovskiy Rayons of the oblast, in villages which are densely populated by the German population. Not just Germans, but also the remaining inhabitants of these villages will take part in the referendum.

It is proposed that the German national rayon will embrace one-third of the Germans living in the oblast—around 30,000. In (Reyter's) words, in the remaining areas densely populated by Germans, it is intended to create rural national councils. It is also planned to set up a unified German economic association which could count on real assistance from the historical homeland, Germany, (Bruno Reyter) reported.

### Samara Allocates Land for German Farmers

*PM0810132591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Oct 91 Union Edition p 2*

[Report by Sergey Zhigalov: "German Farmers Will Return to Volga Area"]

[Text] Samara—The Samara Oblast authorities have allocated land in Kvorostyanskiy and Bezenchukskiy Rayons for future settlements of German farmers.

The fields, pasture land, and territory to be built upon will be handed over—or, most probably, sold—to Soviet Germans who want to become private farmers. This will initiate the implementation of the agreement between the Russian and German Governments to set up compact German settlements in Samara, Saratov, and Volgograd Oblasts. It is thought that Germans from Kazakhstan, the Orenburg area, and other parts of the country will start settling here.

The basis for these optimistic forecasts is the agreement with the German side on shipments of equipment and materials for the future settlements through the AGT agricultural firm. The Soviet side will allocate construction capacity.

## Ukraine

### Kravchuk Assesses French Visit, Independence

*LD0610133891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2218 GMT 3 Sep 91*

[By correspondent Georg Mikhaylin]

[Text] Paris, 4 Oct—"Through its democratic laws, the republic will gain independence and it will be recognized by the world community," Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, declared at a news conference on the results of his one-day working visit to France, which ended on Thursday [3 October].

According to the Ukrainian leader, at the meeting, France's President Francois Mitterrand shared this viewpoint and supported the Ukraine's aspiration to enter the European home as soon as possible as a highly developed, independent, and democratic state. Moreover, L. Kravchuk voiced the hope for Western aid. "But if it does not materialize, the Ukraine will have to advance toward a high level of development and genuine democracy by its own devices, which will take far longer," he stressed.

In his opinion, "both countries have splendid opportunities for cooperating in such spheres as nuclear power engineering, aircraft construction, electronics, and the production of consumer goods". "The Ukraine is opening its borders to foreign capital," the Ukrainian leader noted. "We have great need for it at present, and so we recently adopted a law on protecting foreign capital investment in the Ukrainian economy. It is progressive in nature. Suffice it to say that foreign firms are exempt from taxation on their profits for the first five years."

Apart from a powerful economy, a further guarantor of the Ukraine's sovereignty is its own army, Kravchuk said. According to him, "it is to be formed from the Soviet Army units stationed on Ukrainian territory". Replying to a TASS correspondent's question about what would then happen to the numerous servicemen of other nationalities, the Ukrainian leader pointed out: "We now have 1.3 million servicemen. We do not need such an army. Ukrainians make up 60 percent of it. We shall leave them in place. Soldiers from other republics will complete their term of service and return to their place of origin, while officers can choose."

As for the fate of the nuclear weapons on Ukrainian territory, Kravchuk said that the Ukraine wishes to destroy them. "To this end, we intend to take part in all international meetings on the problem. The Ukraine therefore supports French President Mitterrand's idea of holding a meeting of the four nuclear powers, as well as the latest nuclear disarmament initiatives of U.S. President Bush, he declared.

The Ukrainian leader also supported Mitterrand's proposal for the creation of a European confederation, stressing that the "the Ukraine will enter it only as an independent state". Acknowledging in this connection the possibility of the appearance of territorial problems, Kravchuk pointed out: "The Ukraine has no claims against any of the republics bordering on it. However, if any of them lodges its own claims against the Ukraine, then it will not be slow in coming forward. A revision of borders is possible only within the framework of the accepted norms of international law, otherwise it will harbor the threat of dangerous conflicts."

It is precisely this vision of the prospects for the development of the Ukrainian state that Kravchuk tried, as he put it, to convey to the French leadership during the visit. The Ukrainian leader termed the visit very important from the point of view of informing Paris about the processes under way in the Ukraine and understanding the French leadership's attitude toward them.

### Kravchuk Assesses Proposed Food Aid

*OW0810191291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1715 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The head of the Ukranian parliament, Leonid Kravchuk, stated on Tuesday [8 October] during a meeting with the U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, Edward Madigan, that the Ukraine is not in favor of receiving food aid as part of large-scale Western credits which may be granted to the USSR.

In the words of Mr. Kravchuk, the Soviet Union intends to rely on U.S. credits for the purchase in the United States of 20 million tons of grain this year, which would be centrally distributed among the republics.

Mr. Kravchuk stated that the Ukraine, if it were to partake in the realization of such credit, would "automatically become a debtor," and "would not know what share of the food aid it would receive."

Leonid Kravchuk also said that famine does not threaten the Ukraine, and that most of all the republic needs fodder and not grain for human consumption. This year the grain harvest will be 10 million tons less than planned, Mr. Kravchuk asserted.

At the same time, Mr. Kravchuk called upon the West to give direct aid to the Ukraine, mostly for the thorough modernization of the agrarian sector. Among the priorities for Ukrainian agriculture are the regulation of quality agricultural technical output, the reconstruction of processing enterprises and the production of ecologically safe pesticides.

Mr. Madigan, in his turn, stated that U.S. food aid to the Soviet Union could only be effective if it goes "not only to the Center, but also directly to the republics." He added that "for this to happen, economic relations must be upheld between the republics."

### Military 'Orders' Referendum Disruption

*OW0816210691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2030 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukrainian parliamentarian Nikolay Pokrovskiy has told IF [INTERFAX] that he has a Xerox copy of a secret document whereby the Soviet General Staff orders the military units stationed in the Ukraine not to obey the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers or Supreme Soviet, and do everything possible for the referendum on Ukrainian independence to fail on December 1.

When IF's reporter asked Lt.-Col. Valeriy Manannikov, duty officer at the Military-Political Department of the Kiev Military District, to comment on Mr. Pokrovskiy's statement, Mr. Manannikov said he had not heard about any such secret order.

Activists of the Ukrainian popular movement Rukh maintain, however, that the degree of the order's secrecy may indeed be beyond the level of district duty officers.

Unofficial sources say the problem is to be discussed at a joint news conference to be held on Wednesday [9 October] by the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers and the parliamentary commission on national defense.

### Pre-Election Nomination Campaign Continues

*OW0810160891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A nomination campaign for the December 1 presidential election in picking up steam, with a candidate field of 90 already. To run for Ukrainian presidency, a candidate must garner 100,000 signatures.

IF [INTERFAX] reports that the leader of the Ukrainian Republican Party Levko Lukyanenko has managed to collect 9269 signatures in Kiev, chairman of the Lvov Regional Council Vyacheslav Chernovil, 6615, Leonid Kravchuk, the current Ukrainian parliamentary leader, around 2000, and chairman of the Ukrainian Green Party Yuriy Shcherbak, 1358.

### Communists 'Jeopardized' Territorial Integrity

*OW0810164991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The presidium of the National Council of the Ukrainian Democratic Party urged the republican parliament to bring to account the persons who had jeopardized the republic's territorial integrity. A statement passed by the council of the Democratic Party claims that "separatist trends are mostly coming to surface in the Crimea, Trans-Carpathia and southwestern Ukraine." The document accuses former party functionaries of provoking these trends and describes them as "putsch abettors and defenders of the party nomenclature."

### Conference on National Security Held

*LD0910030991 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 6 Oct 91*

[Correspondent Yuriy Havinskyy report on conference on national security of sovereign states in Kiev on 5 and 6 October]

[Excerpt] First of all, let us not confuse questions of national security with essentially defense problems. At the conference, convened by the URP [Ukrainian Republican Party], the Association of Officers of Ukraine [AOU], and the Kiev innovative-polytolological center, Innocenter for short, the participants also dealt with economic, ecological, legal, and even cultural security, although military- political questions remained at the fore. Here is Colonel Vilen Martyrosyan, Ukrainian people's deputy and chairman of the AOU.

[Martyrosyan] I have just returned from Moscow. I have analyzed the situation in Moscow and what is being prepared there for the Ukraine. They are already trying to create an interfront, in fact all over the Ukraine. They are even trying to split our AOU, on one hand with the assistance of the interfront, and on the other by creating a new association of officers which would function on the basis of the constitutions of the USSR and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. These are attempts by the people who not only don't recognize but are simply unable to understand that the act has taken place, the Ukraine has already taken the happy path and proclaimed independence.

[Havinskyy] Afterwards, doctor of history Oleksander Honcharenko, scientific adviser to the conference, acquainted reporters with the practical steps that are planned.

[Honcharenko] Participants of the international conference on national security of sovereign states deem it expendient to recommend to the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine:

1. As soon as possible to draft and adopt a bill on national security of the Ukraine which would lay the legal foundations for creating an adequate system of the republic's national security, the foundations being: military-political, economic, ecological, law-maintaining, and sociocultural.

2. A council for national security, attached to the office of the Ukrainian president, is to be the main coordinating organ of the national security system. It should consist of ministers or deputy ministers in charge of defense, foreign affairs, internal matters, intelligence, and special services, experts and advisers on issues of national security.

3. To create under the Supreme Soviet and with participation of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences an institute of strategic studies.

4. To deem it expedient that the European republics of the former USSR, that is the Ukraine, Moldova, Belorussia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, together with Eastern Eropean countries, create a special international work group for working out the principles of collective security of countries situated in Eastern Europe, and enhance the possibility of adding these countries to the system of international security and to that of the EC.

[Havinskyy] Have you noticed that Oleksander Honcharenko omitted Russia? No, he has not forgotten it. He regards Russia as a largely Asian power. Still, this is not the time for engaging in geographical matters. Let me note that by far not all participants have agreed with him. [passage omitted]

### National Army Size Planned at 450,000

*OW08 .1141791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 8 Oct 91*

["A 450,000-Strong Ukrainian Army Is Planned To Be Formed Within Two Years"—INTERFAX headline; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Ukrainian national army, around 450,000-strong, is planned to be formed within two days [as received], decided the Presidium of the republican Council of Ministers at its sitting, it is reported by IF [INTERFAX]. This issue was also considered at an international scholarly conference on "The Principles of National Security in Sovereign Countries" that came to a close in Kiev on October 7. The conference had been organized by the Ukrainian Republican Party and the Ukrainian Union of Officers. Participating in the conference were republican defense and ecology ministers, chairmen of the parliamentary commissions of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet and attendees from France, the USA, the Baltics, etc.

"A final decision on the structure of the Ukrainian military has yet to be taken," said Colonel Vilen Martirosyan, USSR People's Deputy and chairman of the republican Union of Officers, to IF. "I believe though that there will be no military districts on Ukrainian territory. There are plans to form three armies, 12 to 16 divisions and the national guard that will only be accountable to the republican president. The strategic missile troops and the air defense will for some time be under shared authority of the centre and republic. [no closing quotation marks as received]

### Crimean Party Leaders Appeal Against Ban

*LD0910081891 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 2300 GMT 7 Oct 91*

[Text] Leaders of local Crimean organizations of the banned Ukrainian Communist Party have appealed to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium. They accuse the parliament of having retreated from its adherence to legal principles regarding communists. As a result, 130,000 Communist Party members are artificially excluded from political processes that are taking place in the Crimea, the appeal says.

The party leaders have asked for permission to hold as soon as possible a plenum of the autonomous republic's Communist Party committee for reviewing intraparty problems and resolving the question on self-determination of Communist Party members.

## Moldova

### Energy Official on Possible Winter Shortages

*LD0910055991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Oct 91*

[Text] If the situation does not change for the better, this winter we will be forced to introduce restrictions on the consumption of electric power and heating. This was the conclusion drawn by Valeriy Ikonnikov, the general director of the Association of Power Engineering and Electrification of Moldova. According to him, in the fourth quarter gas supplies will be 23 percent lower compared to last year. In the first instance restrictions will apply to industrial enterprises. It is possible, the association leader said, that we will have to introduce restrictions on establishments and even houses.

### Need for Dnestr Compromises Acknowledged

*OW0810163991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Both the government of Moldova and the Dnestr leaders are becoming increasingly aware of the need for compromises, said on Monday Mr. Oazu Nantoi [spelling as received], director of the Moldova's government political analysis service after a day of work of a commission charged with finding a settlement for the conflict.

The commission members agreed to withhold comments for the press.

### Parliament Approves Election Resolution

*LD0910050691 Moscow TASS in English 1920 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Text] Kishinev October 8 TASS—All citizens, who lived on Moldavia's territory on June 23, 1990, the day it proclaimed its independence, can take part in presidential elections, except conscripts, reads a resolution passed by the republican parliament today.

The resolution was passed in accordance with the law on Moldavia's citizenship, the document reads.

## Early Elections Held for Bendery Chairman

*LD0810224291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1508 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[By MOLDOVA-PRES correspondent Anatoliy Golya, TASS correspondent Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Kishinev, 7 Oct (TASS)—Early elections for the chairman of the Bendery Town Soviet were held on Sunday [6 October] in the second largest town in Moldova's Dnestr Region. The elections were set because a large number of deputies to the town soviet expressed no confidence in their former chairman, Gimn Pologov, a deputy to the Moldovan Parliament. This occurred after Pologov, only recently one of the "founding fathers" of the so-called Dnestr Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic [MSSR], began to speak in favor of suspending the creation of bodies of state power in the region. The views of Gimn Pologov underwent this dramatic change as a result of his being held in a detention center of the Moldovan Ministry of Internal Affairs for actions "aimed at dismembering the Republic of Moldova and creating the anticonstitutional Dnestr MSSR."

Once, when, as a result of signing the conciliation protocols between the leadership of Moldova and the leaders of the Dnestr Region regarding the deputies under arrest, the restraints were changed and they were no longer under guard, Gimn Pologov began to speak in favor of continuing talks with the official Molodovan leadership to settle existing divergences of opinion. This point of view was not to the liking of the town soviet deputies, most of whom regard the cease-fire with Moldova as temporary and believe separation from Moldova must continue. It was they who set fresh elections.

The Moldovans who live in the town and only recently were opposed to Pologov have refused to take part in the election campaign concocted to remove him from office. They have been supported by others from Pologov's village of Varnitsa, part of Bendery. According to the preliminary results, 56 percent of the town's inhabitants took part in the election. Eighty-two per cent were in favor of Gimn Pologov's opponent, Vyacheslav Kogut, chairman of the Bendery Executive Committee.

## Georgia

### Gamsakhurdia Suspends Central TV Broadcasts

*OW0810164591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia said that he had ordered the cessation of Central (Moscow-based) TV transmissions to Georgia.

Asked to explain the ban by an opposition parliamentarian, Mr. Gamsakhurdia claimed that "The Central and Russian TV consciously misinformed TV audiences." Central and Russian TV should not be allowed to resume transmissions to Georgia, he said.

### Gamsakhurdia Supporters Prepare Barricades

*LD0810141391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Text] INTERFAX reports that one of its correspondents was told by the Tbilisi commandant's press center that last night passed without incident. However, last night the situation was tense. An opposition demonstration was held outside the university building, at which calls were again heard for an advance on parliament.

On Monday [7 October], members of the Merab Kostava Society removed pickets from main roads and railways around the village of Agara, approximately 100 km from the republic's capital. Today the emergency session of the Georgian Supreme Soviet continued its sitting.

An INTERFAX correspondent was told that supporters of President Gamsakhurdia have concentrated a significant number of heavy dump trucks and buses on Rustaveli Avenue, in readiness to close off the avenue at any moment.

### Opposition Protests Continue; Actions Noted

#### Council Meeting; Public Appeal Issued

*LD0810002991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2229 GMT 7 Oct 91*

[Correspondent A. Goryachev report; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Last night in Tbilisi representatives of the Merab Kostava society blocked the mainline railway near Agara station. They demanded that all opposition members who are under guard be released. However, right now rail traffic has resumed but the demands of the pickets have not been met.

Today in Tbilisi an extraordiary session of the Supreme Soviet of Georgia began work. The session is meeting behind closed doors. It has become known that the deputies at the session adopted an appeal to all citizens of the republic not to give way to provocation and called upon the opposition to resolve all the conflict situations by means of peaceful dialogue. According to information from parliamentary sources, the deputies have still not started discussing the opposition's demands, although it is expected that they will be examined tomorrow when the session continues.

At the same time, some details of Saturday's tragedy have become clear, when as a result of a clash between the opposition and supporters of Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia two people perished and several dozen were injured. According to the assessments of witnesses, the slaughter was provoked by OMON subunits loyal to the president and the militia. True, the official authorities still deny this. [Video shows night scenes of pickets and people lighting candles, Tbilisi central square during the day]

#### Protesters March Toward Parliament

*AU0810141191 Paris AFP in English 1408 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Text] Tbilisi, Soviet Georgia, Oct 8 (AFP)—A group of around 300 protesters opposed to Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia marched toward the parliament building here Tuesday [8 October] and were in a tense standoff with security forces as deputies prepared for a further emergency debate.

The protesters rallied at the university building in Tbilisi and then headed down the city's main avenue toward the parliament building, where the deputies were due to begin an emergency session on the political crisis that has paralyzed the Caucasus republic for the past month.

The demonstrators, shouting "Ceausescu, Ceausescu" in reference to the late Romanian dictator, were stopped along the avenue by a line of security forces who had positioned several buses across the road to block access to the parliament.

Irina Sarashvili, the acting leader of the opposition National Democratic Party, used a loudspeaker to demand that the barricade be removed. "We are unarmed," she said. "If we are criminals then why don't you arrest us."

The demonstrators, some of them carrying a large banner demanding an explanation from Gamsakhurdia for recent violence in Tbilisi, then sat down and occupied the avenue as they were surveyed by the visibly nervous security forces.

Tension in the Georgian capital rose sharply with the demonstration and opposition leaders said they would determine their next move based on the outcome of Tuesday's parliamentary debate, which they said would be "decisive."

Small groups of Soviet troops were also on the streets of the Georgian capital Tuesday, but Soviet defense officials have stated they have no intention of intervening in the Georgian conflict.

The parliamentary debate meanwhile had been due to start at 3:00 P.M. (1200 GMT) but was delayed for reasons that were not immediately clear.

### Hundreds Rally at University

*LD0910050291 Moscow TASS in English 0502 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[By special correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Tbilisi October 8 TASS—Representatives of the Georgian opposition demanded a political estimation of the events on September 2 and October 5, when clashes between police units and opponents of the Georgian president resulted in several people dead and dozens wounded.

Today the opposition held a rally at the university building and, later, marched to the Georgian Supreme Soviet office, where the parliament was holding session. On the Rustaveli Avenue they were stopped by a cordon of buses and trucks and police units, who behaved properly this time.

The 200 demonstrators went on a sit-in strike in the middle of the avenue. The strike was headed by press secretary of the Georgian National Democratic Party Irina Sarishvili, the wife of the party's head Georgy Chanturiya, now staying in the investigation ward.

The demonstrators used a megaphone to declare that they will stop the strike and leave the avenue only in case of the authorities' agreement to meet representatives of the opposition and listen to their demands.

However, they stopped the strike without receiving a response from the authorities.

At the same time, the republican radio transmitted calls to presidential advocates to gather at the Supreme Soviet's building for a rally in support of the president.

### NDP Leader on Gamsakhurdia Objectives

*LD0810090991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2056 GMT 5 Oct 91*

[By correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Tbilisi, 5 Oct (TASS)—Georgiy Chanturiya, leader of the National Democratic Party (NDP) of Georgia has accused georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia of attempting to physically eliminate the opposition.

According to him, such an attempt was made today in the Tbilisi investigative-detention center, where he and several other people are being kept under guard, accused of organizing and actively participating in the violation of public order. According to Chanturiya, Gamsakhurdia supporters tried to organize a riot of inmates today with the help of provocateurs in the investigative-detention center.

The NDP leader, in a conversation with a TASS correspondent who managed to visit those under investigation in the prison, said that only due to the efforts taken by the political inmates was it possible to prevent a riot and to persuade the rest to return to their cells.

The administration of the investigative-detention center confirmed that Georgia Chanturiya and cameraman Georgiy Khaindrava, who is also under investigation, greatly contributed to the fact that a riot and a break-out of inmates did not take place. At the same time, according to the version presented by the administration, the riot was provoked by former members of the militia who are under investigation, and who had managed to take a guard as a hostage and open the doors to the rest of the cells.

### Gamsakhurdia Urged To Accept Demands

*OW0810164191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The commander of the "rebellious" units of the National Guard Tenghiz Kitovani told the press that he personally would not demand the resignation of the president if the latter fulfilled all the opposition's demands.

According to Mr. Kitovani, they include: the resignation of the Georgian Supreme Soviet Presidium, the release of political prisoners and speech freedom.

The commander also insisted that presidential rights should be curtailed.

At a session of the Georgian parliament on Sunday [6 October], Mr. Gamsakhurdia said that the rebellious guards may join the structure of the republican Defense Ministry, and talks are underway to effect this transfer.

### Legislators Ban 60 Communist Deputies

*LD0810224991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2117 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Representatives of the government and the opposition in Georgia seemed to find today a topic on which their views are not diverging as much as on other issues. Legislators at the session in Tbilisi adopted a decision to abolish immediately the powers of 60 deputies who were elected from the Communist Party before their term.

### New Clashes Follow South Ossetian Talks

*OW0810130691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Talks were held Monday [7 October] in South Ossetia between the prefect of the Gori district and the commandant of the town of Tskhinvali with a view to putting an end to the shelling of the town. On the same day a Georgian who had been taken hostage was exchanged for the body of an Osset who had been killed earlier.

But as these positive steps were taken, shooting continued. On Monday, a group of USSR Interior Ministry law enforcers was ambushed and fired on 7 km from Tskhinvali. The military unit returned fire, dispersed the guerrillas and captured one of them, a resident of the town of Gori who was armed with an assault rifle. An Interior Ministry mobile patrol arrived at the scene of the accident and was fired on too. Returning fire, it injured and detained another attacker, a resident of the Gori district.

## Armenia

### Bagratyan Assesses Economy's 'Deep Crisis'

*LD0610095491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2128 GMT 5 Oct 91*

[By correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 5 Oct (TASS)—The Armenian economy is in deep crisis, the Republic's internal debt is 12.3 billion rubles [R], and its external debt is $410 million. These figures were given today at a news conference in Yerevan held by Grant Bagratyan, acting chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers. He stated that in spite of the measures undertaken, the position of the Republic's economy is not improving.

The recently appointed leader of the Armenian Government characterized the state in the Republic's energy complex as "chaos," comparing it with "elastic which has been stretched and might snap." Our power capacity is only functioning at half strength, the fuel supply at a number of TETS [thermal electric power stations] has been exhausted, and the Republic is only receiving 30-40 percent of the fuel it requires. In the words of Bagratyan this is connected with the reduction in fuel deliveries, which has in turn been prompted by the fall in the production of fuel oil in the Russian Federation and the blockade of Armenian railway links.

The acting chairman of the government reported on the energy program that is being worked out for the Republic. In the context of the complex situation which is taking shape, we are considering the fate of the Armenian AES [nuclear electric power station], the work of which was halted, he noted, and he stated that at present Soviet, foreign, and international experts are weighing up the issue of the chances for its work to be resumed. If their conclusions are convincing, then the government will go to the Republic's Supreme Soviet with the necessary proposal. The leader of the Armenian Council of Ministers recalled that the AES stopped working in 1989 under conditions whereby the Republic could rely on the then Union regarding energy issues, but the situation now is quite different. In the words of Grant Bagratyan, if a decision is adopted to open the AES, then a year will be needed for the preparatory work, increasing its seismological stability and introducing an additional third safety zone.

This year, considerable success has been achieved by those working in the villages of Armenia, where as a result of land reform 62 percent of arable land and 70 percent of orchards have gone over to private ownership. In light of this the production of agricultural produce in the Republic has increased by 35 percent.

Regarding the development of Armenian economic links, the acting chairman of the Republic's Council of Ministers termed "unacceptable" claims that the signing of the treaty on an economic community of sovereign states goes against the course set by the Republic toward independence. He noted that real economic independence can be attained by selfless toil and professionalism.

Journalists were told that there are 132,000 unemployed in Armenia at the present time, but with the adoption of the relevant law this figure will increase, and according to estimates will reach 230,000 to 270,000 people out of a population of 3,500,000 in the Republic.

Grant Bagratyan emphasized the Republic of Armenia's interest in developing political, trade, and economic cooperation with neighboring Iran.

### Economic Views Expanded

*LD0610102691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0500 GMT 6 Oct 91*

[By SNARK news agency correspondent Grigoriy Magorchyan, "specially for Radio Rossii"]

[Text] Professionalism is my motto—33-year old Grant Bagratyan, acting chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers, declared at a news conference. Here's a dispatch from Yerevan.

[Magorchyan] This was the prime minister's first meeting with reporters, scheduled 10 days ago, and it dealt with the economic and management policy of the government of Armenia under conditions of the most acute financial and energy crisis. As of today, the Republic's internal debt amounts to 12.3 billion rubles, Bagratyan said, which is twice the Republic's revenue—and $412 million. Under these circumstances it is essential to put two principles to the fore: the government is

only a management and economic body; and all reforms must be implemented only after discussion with professionals.

The first question asked of the prime minister concerned Vazgen Manyukan's resignation from his post. Keeping silent about the resignation, Bagratyan said only that he was extremely surprised that Manyukan had chosen such an inappropriate time to resign. In answer to a question about Armenia's signing of the treaty on economic cooperation, the prime minister said that he signed it only after 24 of 36 amendments to the text of the treaty, submitted by Armenia, had been taken into account. I am for cooperation and ties with all the republics, Bagratyan said. This will in no measure affect our independence. If it depends upon everyone, then that means it depends upon no one.

However, speaking about the Republic's mutual relations with the West, the prime minister said that Armenia would do this only independently, without resorting to the assistance of other republics, regardless of the lack of relevant experience. The point of what was said boiled down to the fact that the independent republic will have to learn from its mistakes, so as not to go on to repeat those of others.

The prime minister described the energy famine in Armenia as the prime problem of the day. Enterprises are operating at 50-60 percent of capacity; only half of the stipulated fuel is arriving in the Republic. An international commission of experts is at present working at the Armenian AES [nuclear electric power station], and will present its conclusions at the end of October. The question of whether the station is to be commissioned will be decided on the basis of this.

Regarding privatization, the prime minister said that this was already yielding its first fruits. Privatization of land, which has already been started, has increased production of agricultural production by 35 percent compared to last year. The process of handing over enterprises will definitely involve major enterprises, too. Changes are also planned in Armenia's military policy. A military-industrial council has already been set up and has held three sittings. The minimum Army and military industry necessary will without fail be established. But, the prime minister stressed, no sociopolitical organizations and forces must interfere in this.

### Economic Community Support Noted

*OW0810160691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Acting premier of Armenia Grant Bagratiyan proclaimed that the Economic Community Agreement that had been initialled by the premiers of the 12 republics "is acceptable for Armenia as it stands."

Addressing the republican parliament on October 7, he said that the agreement would "become a de-jure, even if nominal, admission that the 11 sovereign states recognized Armenia as an independent economic agent." According to Mr. Bagratiyan, this move would promote the recognition of Armenia's political independence.

Mr. Bagratiyan disagreed that economic situation in Armenia was catastrophic; the epithet would only fit the energy sector, said he.

Monday morning he left for Moscow to take part in a new round of economic talks and consultations, including a meeting with Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy.

### Ter-Petrosyan Views Soviet Army's Future

*PM0810153591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Oct 91 First Edition p 1*

["Interview for This Issue" with Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan by Colonel A. Ladin at Baykonyr; date not given; first paragraph is introduction: "Is It Prestigious for Armenians To Serve at Baykonur?"]

[Text] Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan answered questions from our correspondent Colonel A. Ladin at the Baykonyr cosmodrome, where participants in the Alma-Ata meeting of the leaders of sovereign republics attended the launch of a space ship carrying a Soviet-Austrian crew.

[Ladin] How do you perceive the immediate future of the Soviet Armed Forces?

[Ter-Petrosyan] The tendency is for every republic to want to create its own army. It may not be a modern army, it may be a national guard initially. I do not even think that the republics aspire to anything else. I can say about Armenia that we do not want to create a modern army. We have no intention of fighting anyone. We simply need a national guard to maintain internal law and order and provide elementary protection for our borders.

As for the unified Soviet Army, I think that there will undoubtedly be some changes there. The Soviet Army may simply become a Russian Army, which is, I think, very natural. This army may have military bases in the republics. These ideas are under discussion...

[Ladin] There has often been talk of creating a common economic space. May there also be a common defense space?

[Ter-Petrosyan] Of course. What I said about the Soviet Army's having military bases in the republics is equivalent to a single defense space.

[Ladin] The country's armed forces are having difficulties today in organizing the draft of the next generation of young men...

[Ter-Petrosyan] Two years ago Armenia was the first republic whose Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution not to send draftees outside Armenia. We are not against our guys' serving in the Army, in the Soviet Army. But on Armenian territory.

[Ladin] Do you agree that it is prestigious for Armenians to serve at the Baykonyr cosmodrome, for example?

[Ter-Petrosyan] We are not forbidding volunteers from doing so. If our young men want, of their own free will, to leave the republic and serve there, let them go ahead.

### Parliament To Discuss Union Membership

*LD0810025991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1615 GMT 5 Oct 91*

["Will Armenia Participate in Union Bodies"—TASS headline; by correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 5 Oct (TASS)—The question of whether Armenia will participate in Union political structures will be considered by the republic's parliament during the coming week, Babken Araktsyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, told TASS today.

He recalled that the issue of the concept and forms of Armenia's representation within the bodies of state power of the USSR during the transition period had already been discussed at the session on 24 September and deputies had resolved to postpone the adoption of a definitive decision. The republic's population was informed of this. The most varied of opinions were expressed at that time: in particular, a number of discussion participants proposed that Armenia take part in the bodies of the Union, while enjoying full rights; in the opinion of another section of deputies it should limit itself to the status of observer.

### Armed, Armored Azerbaijanis Attack Village

*OW0810212091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2030 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The news agency "Norutyun Service" reports that a group of armed Azerbajianis backed by division No.23, a T-72 tank and three armed personnel carriers attacked the village of Kirants in the Indjevan district of Armenia near the border with Azerbajian on Tuesday [8 October]. The Armenian Interior Ministry is doing everything possible to defend the village. According to the news agency, the attackers are led by Baguir Ziyubov, Chairman of the executive committee of Azerbaijan's Kazakh district. There have been no reports of casulaties.

Yesterday Kirants came under fire from the Azerbaijani village of Kheyrimlu. As a result of the shooting which lasted several hours, two Azerbaijanis were killed, six Armenians were wounded and two more Armenians went missing.

"Norutyun Service" reports that there is a large concentration of Azerbaijani OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] servicemen, armored vehicles and artillery near the Azerbajiani village of Zeiva in the Geranboy (Shaumyanovsk) district. The news agency says OMON commandos may be preparing for an attack on the Armenian village of Karachinar tomorrow morning.

### Republics Urged To Recognize Independence

*OW0810211891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2030 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet has called on all heads of state and government in ex-Soviet republics to recognize Armenia's independence and establish official intergovernmental relations with it. It also invited them to set up "special commissions to settle political, economic, military and other disputes" with Armenia.

## Azerbaijan

### Supreme Soviet Proceedings Reported

*LD0910064791 Moscow Central Television First Program Nework in Russian 1900 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Correspondent M. Mamedov report from Baku on extraordinary session of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet; from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] The session of the republic's Supreme Soviet began work to the chants of a public meeting ringing the parliament building and calls for the resignation of the Supreme Soviet. It was convened at the request of the Azerbaijan Democratic opposition bloc. The bloc's representatives presented a package of proposals at the session: to suspend the work of the current parliament and create a provisional national majlis from among the deputies on a basis of parity. During the transitional period until new parliamentary elections were held this would be the supreme state body. The opinions of the deputies were divided and after debates lasting several hours the deputies set up a conciliation commission to reach a definitive solution to this important issue. The session approved additional measures to stabilize the economic, social, and political life of the republic. These measures stipulate investing the Azerbaijan president with the right to form a new structure of state government. The Supreme Soviet retained the right to amend or revoke decisions made by the president of Azerbaijan, in the event of disagreement. The session continues work

tomorrow. [Video shows demonstators outside the Supreme Soviet and then the session in process]

### Commission Confirms Mutalibov Presidency

*LD0810023191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1730 GMT 7 Oct 91*

[Text] Documents attesting to the election of Ayaz Niyazi Ogly Mutalibov as president of the Azerbaijan Republic were presented today.

(?Ogly Kerimov), chairman of the republic's Central Electoral Commission, who spoke at the presentation ceremony, reported that the results of the elections, according to which 98.5 percent of the electorate voted for Mutalibov, were examined at the sitting of the commission which took place on 16 September. The Central Electoral Commission decreed that Mutalibov should be considered to have been elected president of the Azerbaijan republic. Mutalibov spoke at the ceremony.

### Nakhichevan Supreme Soviet Session Concludes

*NC0710115291 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 2050 GMT 3 Oct 91*

[Text] The Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic Supreme Soviet devoted the first part of its final extraordinary session today to the safeguarding of the rights of the autonomous republic's peoples deputies. The speakers noted that the constitutional rights of the peoples deputies have been repeatedly violated in the past six months. The former party committee in Nakhichevan pressured the deputies who supported democracy and [words indistinct]. Many of the deputies were relieved of their responsibilities without any reason.

A decision was made to prevent similar incidents from occurring in the future and to focus more attention on safeguarding the deputies' constitutional rights.

The Supreme Soviet approved the proposals presented by the prime minister of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic to channel all the [words indistinct] to the republic's budget and to adopt daylight savings in the autonomous republic's territory.

The Supreme Soviet also held a closed meeting. A report was heard at this meeting on the work of the autonomous republic's defense committee. A pertinent decision was adopted on this matter and the Supreme Soviet session concluded its work.

## Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast

### Popular Front Says Agreement Realistic Step

*OW0810164791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On just one major issue the Azerbajiani Popular Front's line on Nagorno-Karabakh differs from that of the Azeri authorities, said Popular Front's deputy chairman Isa Gambarov [spelling as received] in an interview with IF [INTERFAX].

According to him, the difference lies in that the Front sees Karabakh as a purely domestic, republican problem that must be addressed without the participation of the official the Azeri leadership are trying to rely on Moscow's help to preserve Karabakh," noted Gambarov.

He emphasized that the joint communique on Nagorno Karabakh signed in Zheleznovodsk by the leaders of Armenia, Azerbajian and the Russian and Kazakh presidents who acted as intermediaries "contained a lot of what we disagreed with", many "vague formulas, and there are no direct statements that the borders are inviolable." At the same time the Front, emphasized Mr. Gambarov, regards the communique as a realistic step toward the settlement of the Karabakh conflict, and one that was bolstered by the prestige of Yeltsin and Nazarbayev, both influential politicians.

Mr. Gambarov reiterated the Front's view that the republic needed an army of its own.

### 'Disturbing Events' Noted Along Border

*LD0810020991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2200 GMT 7 Oct 91*

[Text] Yesterday [8 October] was marked by a number of disturbing events. On the night of 6-7 October the Azerbaijani settlement of Khelenri was fired at from the Armenian settlement of Vaskipar in Kazakhskiy rayon of Azerbaijan. As a result of the fire, one Azerbaijani woman—Guyala Yusifov—her husband, and also a soldier of the Soviet Army were wounded.

According to the order of the Azerbaijan Ministry of Internal Affairs, hunting rifles are to returned to the citizens of Azerbaijani settlements situated on the border with the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, which were confiscated from them two years ago.

The SNARK Agency notes that on the night of 6-7 October an Armenian self-defence detachment occupied the village of Gyulantlu in Martuninskiy rayon. There are dead on both sides, their numbers are being defined. Several houses were burned down.

### Situation Still Unstable

*OW0810163791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] There are absolutely no signs that the situation is getting back to normal in Nagorno Karabakh and Geranboi (Shaumyan) districts of Azerbajian, said acting Interior Ministry of Armenia Ashot Manucharyan on Monday, October 7.

He reported that 16 Armenians and 20 Azerbaijanis had died in the region of late, most of them Azeri OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] policemen.

### Armenian Official Updates Situation

*LD0910063991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

Yesterday, Ashot Manucharyan, acting Armenian minister of internal affairs said that there is no tendency toward stabilizing the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh or in the Geranboyskiy rayon of Azerbaijan. According to observers, relations between the Azerbaijan Special Purpose Militia Detachment and troops—recent allies—in the region are becoming tense because the troops are refusing to take part in the deportation of Armenians from Nagorno-Karabakh.

Nothing but pomegranate juice made in 1984, soap, and tea can be bought in the food shops of Stepanakert today, the ARMENPRES correspondent reports from the capital of Nagorno-Karabakh. Earlier there was an opportunity to bring food to Nagorno-Karabakh from Yerevan, now this possibility has been cut off. Armenian aviation flights have been practically paralyzed due to lack of fuel. Motor vehicles are not allowed into Nagorno-Karabakh, either.

## Kazakhstan

### Supreme Soviet Chairman on Economic Union

*PM0810100191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 91 Single Edition p 2*

[Correspondent T. Yesilbayev report on interview with Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet Chairman Ye. Asanbayev: "National Currency? A Contentious Issue..."]

[Text] Alma-Ata—The draft Treaty on Economic Union prepared by G. Yavlinskiy's group is still being discussed with interest in Kazakhstan.

Ye. Asanbayev, chairman of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, said:

[Asanbayev] In our view, it will not be so much the text of the treaty as the agreements that it is planned to conclude in its wake that will be of great significance. I think that they will reveal the specific theses that determine the life of the republics, their real sovereignty, and the extent of the power of the "center."

At the same time we have a number of criticisms of the draft treaty. For instance, it would be wrong for the "center" to control the economic union's gold reserves and hard-currency reserves, as the document says. These reserves should be created with contributions from the Union member states. And not with all the gold extracted by the republics. The fact that some of them do not extract the precious metal must also be taken into consideration. They may be able to compensate for this with another high contribution to the hard currency reserve. But newly extracted gold must remain within the republics that extract it.

The draft treaty says that the "center" will hand down state orders to enterprises. In this connection we think that a unified republic state order is needed. We think that the republics themselves must control the credit resources formed on their territory. It is also important for the treaty to reflect the fact that the economic union's member states ensure international recognition of the guarantee of foreign property on their territory since the sovereign republics will attract foreign investors to develop the economy.

The question of introducing a national currency is a contentious one in the proposed draft. It is not altogether clear whether it will consolidate the ruble's positions both in international transactions and within the country. In our view, the desire by individual republics or states to introduce their own currency is an attempt to protect their own consumer market. So there would be simply no need for national currencies if we succeed in finding a mechanism making it possible to prevent great differences in the provision of consumer goods for the population of various regions.

When it comes to details, there are plenty of contentious elements in the draft treaty. Nevertheless Kazakhstan's position on it is clear-cut—the document on economic union must be signed as fast as possible.

## Kyrgyzstan

### U.S. Group To Give $100 Million Credit

*OW0910030291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2210 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[From the "Soviet Business Report;" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Sternfield Financial Group from the U.S. has agreed to grant the Central Asian Republic of Kyrgyzstan credits totalling $100 million for a ten year period at an interest rate of 4-5% a year.

According to information from experts at the Kirgizgosbank, the republic's central bank, the credits will be used to create industries in the republic which produce building materials which are not traditional. In part finished products, in particlar, processed basalt, which is planned for export.

In the words of the Kirgizgosbank experts, the guarantee for the return of the credit will be the "exportability" of the goods produced by investing such credits.

## Tajikistan

### Sobchak, Velikhov Address Demonstrators

*PM0910081591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Oct 91 First Edition p 2*

[TADZHIKTA correspondent V. Zhukov report specially for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA: "A. Sobchak and Ye. Velikhov As Peacemakers"]

[Text] Dushanbe—A. Sobchak and Ye. Velikhov arrived in Dushanbe 3 October and the next morning spoke on Ozodi Square, where a rally is into its ninth day. As is well known, the Tajik parliament, taking the opposition's opinion into account, has lifted the state of emergency in the republic's capital and suspended the activity of the Communist Party. However, this has not satisfied the demonstrators.

Addressing the participants in the rally, Velikhov and Sobchak said that they have been sent to Dushanbe by Mikhail Gorbachev to help the republic's democratic forces and all political movements find a common platform. The USSR presidential envoys intend to stay in Dushanbe until the required result is achieved. They have already had a meeting in camera with opposition leaders. Talks are scheduled with members of parliament. There are plans to visit labor collectives in the Tajik capital.

### Warns of 'Dramatic Consequences'

*AU0810173691 Paris AFP in English 1727 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Text] Moscow, Oct 8 (AFP)—Soviet mediator Anatoliy Sobchak on Tuesday [7 October] warned of fresh unrest in the Central Asian republic of Tajikistan, saying that a final solution to the republic's political turmoil was still far off.

Sobchak, the Saint Petersburg mayor, made his comments on returning to Moscow after negotiations that led to the "temporary" resignation of hardline Communist Rakhman Nabiyev as Tajikistan president.

Nabiyev's appointment in the wake of the August 19 Kremlin failed coup triggered mass demonstrations by pro-democracy protesters.

Sobchak, who was sent to the region with scientist Yevgeniy Velikhov by the Soviet leadership, said: "We can expect dramatic consequences with the risk of direct confrontation like in February 1990."

"There is a chance for democratisation, but we cannot rule out a worsening of the situation," he told a press conference.

A state of emergency was clamped on Tajikistan in February last year after violent anti-Russian rioting which left several dozen dead.

Sobchak notably met with supporters of Nabiyev who took over on September 23 and with opposition leaders.

Tension has run high in Dushanbe since Nabiyev, a republican leader under former Soviet president Leonid Brezhnev, returned to power. He took over after Tajikistan leader Kadiddrin Aslonov suspended the Communist Party in the republic.

Sobchak said the Soviet mediation had brought an agreement on the "democratisation of political life" in Tajikistan, under which Nabiyev had agreed to step down until republican presidential elections in November.

The accord is a "modest solution to a fragile situation. We are far from a final solution, it all depends on the goodwill of the different parties," Sobchak said.

The agreement also gives the Islamic and pro-democracy opposition access to television and radio.

Asked about the revival of Islam in the Muslim republic, Sobchak said: "The revival of Islam is normal after years of banning religious practice."

"We must not simplify the situation: the alternative is not between the communist red flag, or the green flag of Islam," said Sobchak.

He called for a "third path" which would be situated "between the restoration of the communist party and the creation of a fundamentalist Moslem state."

### Opposition Considers Candidate for Presidency

*OW0810161191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leaderships of the Democratic Islamic Party of Tajikistan and of the Rastokhez movement are considering nominating one candidate for republican presidency, said chairman of the Rastokhez Takhir Abduldjabar [spelling as received] to IF [INTERFAX].

"Now that the Tadjik Supreme Soviet carried out the opposition's demands, our task is not to lose the accumulated potential and to make common front at the election," emphasized Mr. Abduldjabar.

The opposition made—and saw fulfilled—the following demands: a ban on the operation of the Socialist Party, successor to the Communist Party, and the nationalisation of its property, the repeal of emergency rule, and the resignation of the chairman of the Tajik Supreme Soviet Rakhman Nabiyev as acting president pending republican presidential election. Also, religious organisations and parties have been allowed to go into politics.

According to Mr. Abduldjabar, following the opposition's demand, the republican presidential election was postponed from October 27 to November 24, and all candidates were given equal access to the airwaves to present their programmes. At the same time as the presidential election, a referendum will be held in the republic on whether the Tajik parliament with its 95 Communist Party deputy body should be dissolved.

The Tajik Supreme Soviet guarantied that no sanctions would be taken against the Dushanbe Mayor Maksud Ikramov who had allowed the dismantling of the Lenin monument or against the participants in the political rally on the Tajik capital's downtown square.

On October 13 all buildings of the Tajik Communist Party will be sealed off.

### Parliament Endorses Nabiyev Resignation

*LD0710123191 Moscow TASS in English 1145 GMT 7 Oct 91*

[By TAJITA-TASS correspondent Zainiddin Nasreddinov]

[Text] The Presidium of the Tajikistan's Supreme Soviet (parliament) today supported the Tajik president's statement on relieving him of his duties as chairman of the Supreme Soviet during the election campaign.

Rakhman Nabiyev's deputy A. Iskandarov will perform president's duties during the former's participation in the election campaign.

Nabiyev took the decision in order to give equal opportunities for all candidates during the presidential election campaign, due to take place on November 24 this year.

## Uzbekistan

### Draft Law on Presidential Elections Published

*NC0810094991 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 1545 GMT 4 Oct 91*

[Text] Uzbekistan's newspapers published the draft law on presidential elections in the republic today. When enacted, the law will guarantee the democratic election of the republic's president. The registered political parties may nominate their candidates through the assemblies [as heard] in the areas where they are established. The workers and the citizens may also do so in the areas where they live. The candidate receiving more than 50 percent of the votes will be elected to the post.

The draft law has a provision related to the age of the presidential candidates. According to this provision, presidential candidates should be between 37 and 67 years old. The draft law also says that the republican government will be responsible for arranging presidential elections.

### Political Program Established, Rules Published

*NC0810092691 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 1545 GMT 5 Oct 91*

[Text] The newspapers in Uzbekistan have published the program and rules and regulations of the People's Democratic Party of Uzbekistan [Uzbekistan Halk Demokratik Firkasi, PDPU]. The main objective of the party is to establish social justice and to upgrade the consumption of economic goods without discrimination among the nationalities in Uzbekistan. The PDPU program carries a provision that the party will work to establish a system that will guarantee the improvement of the political, economic, and social life of each and every citizen [words indistinct].

The PDPU plans to actively participate in parliamentary work and nominate its own presidential candidates.

### St. Petersburg Economic Links Established

*LD0810192691 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 8 Oct 91*

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Delegations from the Republic of Uzbekistan and the St. Petersburg mayor's office concluded talks in Tashkent. Trade and economic cooperation will now be direct and will consider the new realities. A special communique signed by Uzbek President Karimov and St. Petersburg Mayor Sobchak refers to this. The elaboration of a draft agreement between the Uzbek Government and the St. Petersburg mayor's office will be concluded by 15 November.

[Begin recording] [Sobchak] This agreement between Uzbekistan and St. Petersburg opens a new page in our mutual relations, as we agreed to start the elaboration of a broad economic agreement in all spheres, including the opening of shops, a shopping center, and an Uzbek mission in St. Petersburg.

[Karimov] We see our future not in isolating ourselves from the republics surrounding us—especially fraternal ones—and from the entire Union. On the contrary, we see our future only in having as many ties as possible, and I absolutely agree with the ideas which were expressed by Anatoliy Aleksandrovich about a unified economic space. [end recording]